

# HATE HOPE

Providing a positive antidote  
to hate and intolerance

May-July 2017

Issue no. 32 Price £3.50



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## EUROPE'S FAR RIGHT SET SAIL TO HAMPER MED RESCUE MISSIONS





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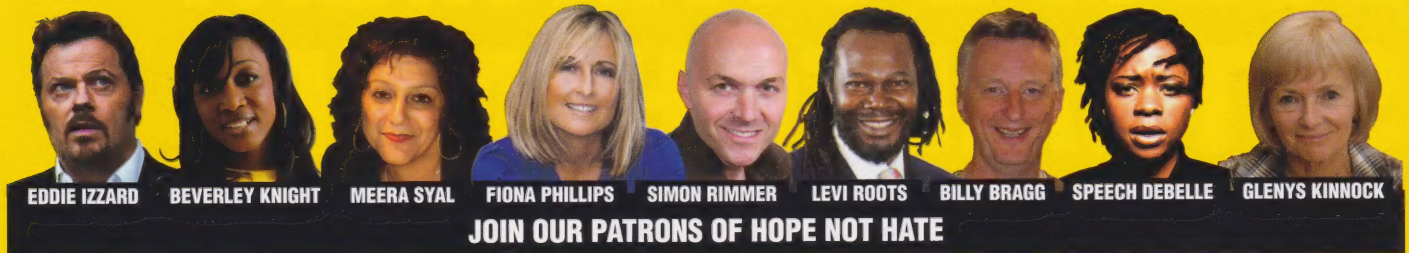
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**HATE  
HOPE  
HATE**

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to combat them.

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## Remainers' Revenge

IF THE EU referendum was the moment that the so-called "Left Behind" flexed their political muscle then June's General Election was the moment the Remainers took revenge.

While Jeremy Corbyn defied expectations to run an effective, appealing and quite honest campaign – in sharp contrast to the Conservatives – Labour's strong vote was made up of an increased turnout among the party's traditional vote, especially the young and BAME, and strong tactical voting among more middle class and professional Remainers.

But, as our article on page 26 shows, Labour did not make any significant inroads into those working class voters the party had deserted.

With the Conservatives only clinging onto power with the support of the Democratic Unionists, chaos and infighting over Brexit and the feeling that Theresa May has lost the backing of many of her MPs, another election and a Corbyn victory now look possible.

Some in Corbyn's camp believe that more of the same is required. However, just relying on a progressive alliance strategy is foolhardy. Labour really needs to re-connect with its working class roots. Otherwise it is only storing up problems for the future.

### FARAGE'S RETURN

The political chaos created by the General Election result was great news for rumbustious ex-UKIP leader Nigel Farage. With the Conservative Party losing its majority and the Remain camp, backed by big business, looking tough and demanding concessions, the opportunities to denounce the government for reneging on core Brexit principles grow by the day.

The collapse in UKIP's support and the ensuing leadership battle have quickened the party's demise: perfect conditions for a new Farage party.

### HIGH SEAS

The chartering of a ship by European far rightists to disrupt NGO search and rescue boats operating in the Mediterranean is a very dangerous move that risks lives.

The far rightists initially planned to block NGO boats from leaving European ports but now claim to want to rescue migrants and return them to Libya. Worryingly, this whole stunt reflects the growing confidence on Europe's increasingly youthful far right.

### A NEW NORMAL?

After the Finsbury Park outrage, the fourth terrorist attack in just three months, there is a growing acceptance that terrorism will become an ever more common feature in British society.

Hopefully, this will not be the case but it is undeniable that the recent wave of terrorist attacks had an impact on society.

The first attack, on Westminster Bridge, was met by a determined campaign by the government, police and civil society organisations to unite society against extremism. It appeared to capture the mood of the population and was echoed in the national media.

However, this changed after Manchester probably because of the nature of the attack that indiscriminately targeted young people. The amount of anti-Muslim abuse on social media leapt dramatically and calls for unity waned. This trend continued after London Bridge.

Whether terrorism will become a more regular occurrence remains to be seen. What is undisputed is that we cannot simply reply on the unity message to get us through future attacks and the progressive world needs to engage seriously in issues it likes to ignore.

Over the coming months HOPE not hate will continue to play a role in challenging extremism and providing effective security. We will initiate debates on what meaningful integration looks like.



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**HNH uses research, education and public engagement to challenge mistrust and racism, and helps to build communities that are inclusive, celebrate shared identities and are resilient to hate.**

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. HOPE not hate has over 214,000 online supporters and over 240,000 followers on Facebook. We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Charitable Trust.

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## Government refuses to release extremism report

THE UK GOVERNMENT has announced it will not publish fully a delayed report on the funding of Islamic extremism for "security reasons". Critics accuse it of trying to protect key UK ally Saudi Arabia.

Home Secretary Amber Rudd announced the decision on 12 July saying, she would not publish the classified report "because of the volume of personal information it contains and for national security reasons." The report, commissioned in 2015, has not appeared since completion last year despite pressure on ministers to publish it.

Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott said there was "strong suspicion" the report was being "suppressed to protect the government's trade and diplomatic priorities, including in relation to Saudi Arabia."

While Rudd did say overseas funding

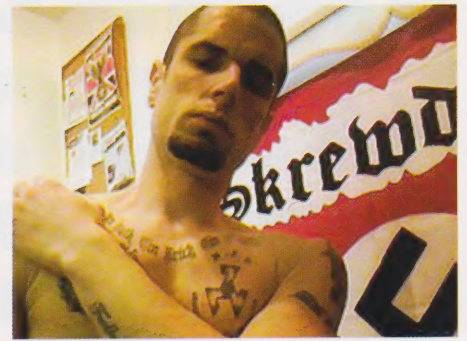
was a "significant source of income" for some extremist groups, she did not mention any countries specifically.

The Home Secretary said the largest source of income for Islamist extremist groups came mostly from anonymous individual public donations from within the UK. The review also says that some Islamic organisations of concern are posing as charities to increase their credibility and to take advantage of Islam's emphasis on charity.



Prime Minister Theresa May in Saudi Arabia

## NF thug escapes with suspended sentence



NATIONAL FRONTER Luke Pippen (who also calls himself Earl Turner on social media) has received a two-year suspended sentence in Canterbury for his part in the Dover riots of January 2016.

Pippen had told very few of his comrades that he was up before court. Many will be surprised at the suspended sentence handed down to one of the far right's most nasty specimens, though not us.

Pippen can now go and visit North West Infidel leader Shane Calvert, who has just been moved to Walton Prison in Liverpool.

## Tech giants unite against extremism

FACEBOOK, Microsoft, Twitter and YouTube have created a joint forum to tackle terrorism and online hate.

The companies will share technological solutions and best practices to remove extreme or terrorist content online.

The Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism is the latest effort by tech giants to combat online extremism after repeated calls by governments and civil societies to do more.

"We believe that by working together, sharing the best technological and operational elements of our individual efforts, we can have a greater impact on the threat of terrorist content online," they said in a statement.

Internet companies have been repeatedly criticised for failing to remove extremist content and violent propaganda from their platforms. Scrutiny heightened after terrorist groups used the sites to spread hateful messages and recruit.

In the US, legislation

prevents platform owners being held legally responsible for content unless asked to remove something by law.

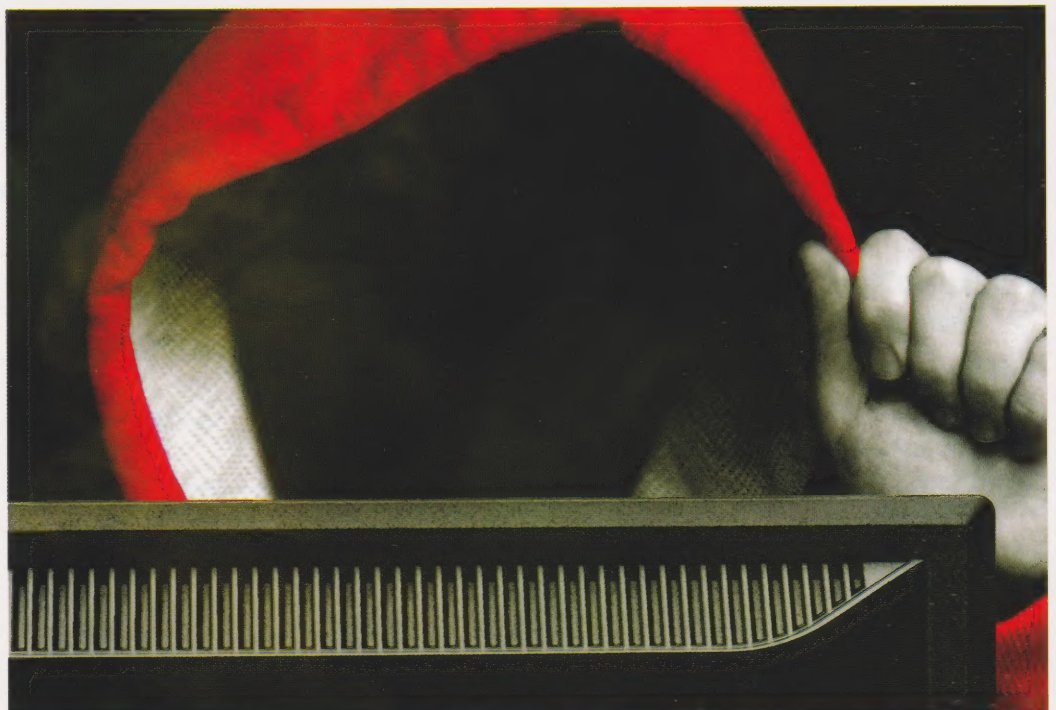
However, hundreds of major brands pulled advertising from Google-owned YouTube after revelations that their ads were

being placed next to extremist or hateful content.

Several countries have threatened social media giants with fines if they fail to promptly remove offensive posts.

Last December, the four tech companies announced

an information-sharing initiative: a database of digital fingerprints known as "hashes" for extreme videos and images allowing one firm to flag a piece of content and other firms to take down the same content through a 'hash'.





## Ben & Jerry's

WORLD-FAMOUS ice cream company Ben & Jerry's has launched a new campaign to lobby for safe routes for refugees.

The "social justice company that happens to sell ice cream" has joined with the International Rescue Committee (IRC) for the campaign Together for Refugees – Home Safe Home – launched on World Refugee Day.

The Union Resettlement Framework legislation is supported by Ben & Jerry's and the IRC will focus on resettling the most vulnerable and removing the need for dangerous journeys.

The campaign urges people to contact their MEPs pass this humane legislation before the UK leaves the European Union (EU).

"The landmark legislation currently being discussed by our representatives in the EU could provide safe and legal routes for refugees to find safety and rebuild their lives, and just ONE email from you could make all the difference," states the campaign website.

Starbucks will be hiring 2,500 refugees to work in its European coffee shops. Meanwhile, Google, Microsoft and Trip Advisor have funded Refugee.Info, a website built by the IRC's tech unit to provide accurate information to refugees crossing Europe.



## Explosive race report delayed

PRIME MINISTER Theresa May has delayed publication of a report on race until the autumn, afraid it will further destabilise her government.

The report, examining how people of different ethnic backgrounds are treated by public services as part of May's mission to tackle "burning injustices", produced such shocking findings that the government deferred its release.

A Cabinet Office source told *The Times* that the report was "pretty explosive" and a Downing Street insider confirmed that it was "going to be pretty bad" and would reveal stark differences in how people are treated by schools, hospitals, the police, courts and councils as well as by employers and the welfare system.



Photo: Julian Buijzen/Flickr

## Remembering Srebrenica

THE WORST GENOCIDE on European soil since the Second World War was remembered in July.

Thousands gathered at more than 400 events across the UK as part of the Srebrenica Memorial Week to commemorate the 8,000 Muslim Bosniak men and boys killed 22 years ago in the Bosnian town of Srebrenica.

While thousands of men and boys as young as 12 were systematically murdered, many women were raped and tortured by the Bosnian Serbs. Over 50,000 cases of sexual abuse were recorded in the Bosnian War from 1992 to 1995. The massacres are now known

as the Srebrenica genocide.

Remembering Srebrenica, a British charity, organised a Srebrenica Memorial Football tournament on 12 July.

The charity also focused on the testimonies of the women who survived the Srebrenica genocide with the theme "Breaking the Silence: Gender and Genocide".

Since the war, schools have often been ethnically segregated on ethnic lines, teaching children different, mutually exclusive, claims about what happened after the disintegration of Yugoslavia.



## BELGIUM | Casa Pound-style squat set up in Lyon

FROM JEAN-YVES CAMUS IN PARIS

TO DATE, French fascists have only dreamt of copying their Italian friends whose Rome headquarters have become true myth across Europe. In Lyons, the city whose mayor is the new French Minister of the Interior, Gérard Collomb, however, the national-revolutionary movement, Groupe Union Défense (GUD), has finally managed it.

On 27 May, GUD's local branch in Lyon, headed by 23-years-old Steven Bissuel, illegally occupied a long empty State-owned building with the aim of transforming it into a shelter for the homeless or, in Bissuel's words, "for the homeless of French or European culture, who speak French".

The police have not taken action yet but GUD has been brought to court and it is likely that it will be ordered to leave the premises.

There are around 30 fascists refurbishing the flats and taking turns at guarding the place. So far, however, not a single homeless person lives there. GUD has launched a crowdfunding website to help with the costs of this operation. CasaPound boss, Gianluca Iannone, has travelled to Lyon to visit the squat and give GUD some kind of a CasaPound-seal. In December 2016, GUD also opened a place where its activists gather and occasionally host National-Socialist Black Metal concerts.



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## GERMANY | Reich Citizens' Movement still growing

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN IN BERLIN

OFFICIAL DATA now puts the number of people involved in the so-called Reich Citizens' Movement at 12,500. This is a significant increase since last year's 10,000. The basic idea around which the different groups in this entirely bogus scene gather is that the German Reich continues in pre-World War II borders.

It also claims that the existing Federal Republic of Germany cannot claim any legitimacy. As a result, followers of the Reich Citizens' Movement carry their own-design driving licenses, refuse the payment of bills or fines, and do not recognise or attend courts.

The number of cases in which so-called Reich Citizens verbally and

physically attack bailiffs and police officers is growing. A high percentage owns firearms.

After three policemen were wounded and one killed in an attempt to confiscate weapons in a small town near Georgsmünd, in October 2016, SWAT teams started conducting raids.

Groups claiming that the German Reich still exists go back to the 1980s when right-wing extremists established several Provisional Reich Governments that handed out their own-design passports etc. The "movement" today still consists of a number of groups, many of them right-wing, others formally denying any connection to politics.

## AUSTRIA | Nazis publish classified documents

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

THE NAZI *Unwiderstehlich* (Irresistible) group has published internal and classified documents of the Austrian Military Counter-Intelligence Office and the Public Prosecutor about a running investigation against far right thugs.

The group, founded only a year ago, caused a stir with a series of publications around the desecration of a mosque, in Styria's capital Graz, with pigs' heads and blood in 2016 and the involvement of an informant from the Military Counter-Intelligence Office.

The informant, a militia soldier, had been recruited by military intelligence because of his right-wing extremist contacts. The case also brought forward accusations against staff of the Counter-Intelligence Office for exceeding competences and not having communicated information on the planned attack to police quickly enough.

Against this background, the Public Prosecutor is investigating and the Internal Audit department of the Counter-Intelligence Office has done an internal report. Parts of these documents have published by the nazi group, including the contract between the intelligence agency and its informant.

Not the first such leak, suggesting the existence of far right affiliations in the military intelligence apparatus and Public Prosecutor's office, the published information also paints a different picture from the hitherto known course of events.

For example, it appears that a different far right group – the Identitarian Movement – was the target of infiltration and that a known nazi leader together with the military informant carried out the attack on the mosque. Currently, 10 people are under investigation.

## GREECE | Mainstreaming Islamophobia

FROM PANAYOTE DIMITRAS FOR GREEK HELSINKI MONITOR IN ATHENS

THE SUCCESS of Greece's nazi Golden Dawn party is often attributed to the effective mainstreaming of racist views in Greek society. Opinion polls indicate that, in the EU, the highest percentages of people espousing antisemitism and xenophobia can be found in Greece and Hungary. In 2015-2016, three UN and Council of Europe expert bodies criticised Greece for failing to prosecute racist speech and asked the country to toughen its anti-racism legislation.

In April 2017, one of the country's most popular authors, Soti Triantafyllou, was referred, by the Athens Prosecutor for Racist Crimes, to trial for inciting racial hatred through an extreme Islamophobic article published after

Greek author Soti Triantafyllou, was referred by the Athens Prosecutor for Racist Crimes to trial for inciting racial hatred





Police Security raided the homes of Norwegian Resistance Movement members in the coastal city of Stavanger in December 2014 and seized a large number of firearms, two kilos of hashish and 30 grams of amphetamines



Daniel Friberg, the founder and European editor of AltRight.com



the Bataclan, Paris terrorist attack in November 2015. She wrote that: "Islam is not a religion like the other [religions], it is a political programme, it is an ideology of barbarisation (...). As Marco Polo said "the militant Muslim is the person who beheads the infidel, while the moderate Muslim holds the feet of the victim." ... a quote that is a well-known hoax.

An avalanche of protests from "liberals" followed Triantafyllou's prosecution. Indicative of the widespread support for the freedom to spread, if not of the effective espousal of, racist speech is the petition of 178 intellectuals, including the former Greek and then EU ombudsman, Nikiforos Diamandouros, published in early June 2017. The signatories did not criticise Triantafyllou's article but expressed their unconditional solidarity with the author for her unjust referral to trial, calling on the courts to acquit her.

## NORWAY | Nazi march banned

FROM TOR BACH IN OSLO

AFTER 17 YEARS of achieving absolutely nothing, Norwegian nazis were set to march in Fredrikstad on 29 July. The march has now been banned for the nazis' own safety after mass anti-fascist protests became likely. Norway last saw a nazi march in August 2000 when 38 people from the notorious Bootboys gang marched in the small town of Askim, together with allies from Sweden and Denmark, to commemorate Hitler's deputy, Rudolf Hess.

The leaders of the march were later arrested for driving a stolen car to the march. This time, the

Norwegian Resistance Movement, a slightly more organised group that is heavily influenced by its Swedish sister organisation, planned to march to "smash the gay lobby".

The group gained notoriety after the Police Security raided the homes of its members in the coastal city of Stavanger in December 2014 and seized a large number of firearms, two kilos of hashish and 30 grams of amphetamines. Seventeen out of thirty known activists have been convicted 24 times in Norwegian courts over the last ten years for serious offences.

## SWEDEN | New extremist formation in Sweden

FROM ANDERS DALSBRO, FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

IN MAY, a new organisation emerged in Stockholm, the Nordic Alternative Right. Its chairman is Christoffer Dulny, until recently active in the Swedish Democrats, lately as an official at the party's parliamentary office.

Vice-chair is Daniel Friberg, the founder and European editor of AltRight.com. Since the 1990s, he has been active in the Swedish and European fascist and nazi scene where he launched a variety of projects and companies. He is currently CEO of the far right British company Arktos.

Finally, the American Richard Spencer is part of the new outfit. His title is strategic adviser. Spencer is well known in the Alt Right

movement being, among other things, chairman of The National Policy Institute and Washington's Summit Publishers.

The new organisation is said to be a pilot project that will be followed by others in different countries. It will operate as a "metapolitical actor", meaning that it will not participate in elections but instead try to influence and push other parties and organisations in its direction. The main goal is to build networks with organisations sharing its analysis.

The organisation points out as central to it, and the so-called Alt-Right generally, the understanding of human differences such as race and gender. It also emphasises it is an explicitly white movement.

## SERBIA | Another Nazi collaborator rehabilitated

FROM DAŠKO MILINOVIĆ IN NOVY SAD

A COURT in Valjevo has officially rehabilitated Nikola Kalabic, commander of the infamous WWII Chetnik Mountain Guard. This unit was responsible for some of the biggest mass slaughters and other war crimes in WWII Serbia. After the fall of the Uzice Republic (the first liberated territory in Nazi-occupied Europe), the anti-fascist partisans were forced to retreat to Bosnia and continue the struggle. This left Serbia in the hands of the Germans who allowed the nationalist Chetniks to be the local security militia.

Kalabic's units caused permanent terror, murdering Serbian civilians, mostly women and children accused of aiding the partisans. Kalabic was one of the main accomplices of the also rehabilitated Chetnik leader "Draža" Mihailović when it came to exterminating Serbia's Muslims. He is yet another murderous war criminal now historically washed clean by the

court's decision. This ruling has caused public outrage as even most Chetnik and royalist sympathizers see Kalabic as an unspeakable monster. Historical revisionism in former Yugoslavia is entering its most absurd and rampant stage as Serbia and Croatia compete in sick celebration of their most vicious fascist war criminals.



Nikola Kalabic, commander of the infamous WWII Chetnik Mountain Guard



## CROATIA | New far right group in Zagreb elections

FROM MARTIN BARIĆ IN ZAGREB

THE CAMPAIGN for local elections in Zagreb on 21 May brought out a new far right political initiative: the Independent list of Bruna Esih. Esih is an MP for the right-wing Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) but this was no obstacle to forming an independent list and running for mayor of Zagreb.

Former Minister of Culture, the notorious "historian" Zlatko Hasanbegović, who was expelled from the HDZ, joined her campaign. Their list won 8.23% and will sit in the Zagreb city assembly with five representatives. Esih ran for mayor and was supported by 10.98% of voters, not enough to enter the second round with five-times elected mayor Milan Bandić. The Independent list's programme was vague and unsubstantial with a lot of discussion on history, painting the liberator of Croatia, Marshal Tito, as a criminal and a murderer and without any discussion on the real issues facing Zagreb.

Esih studied philosophy and Croatian culture at the University of Zagreb graduating with her thesis titled "Serbian propaganda and Croatian silence". She began her political career in 2012 when she became president of the Croatian Way of the Cross, notorious for supporting the commemoration of the 1945 Bleiburg massacre when troops of the fascist Independent State of Croatia and the Nazi Axis were captured and killed.

## CROATIA | Circle for the Square initiative gathers

FROM MARTIN BARIĆ IN ZAGREB

ON 6 MAY, a public gathering of the Initiative Circle for the Square and its supporters was held in central Zagreb. The goal of the Initiative is to remove Marshal Tito from the name of the square in the Zagreb city centre.

This campaign has been active for over ten years and is backed by many local and national-level rightist politicians and personalities.

This year's rally was supported by parliamentarians Bruna Esih, Zlatko Hasanbegović (ex-culture minister) and Željko Glasnović, all prominent political figures. Esih and Hasanbegović at the time were campaigning for election to the Zagreb City Council.

The slogan of the gathering was "All with Christ against the communists" and it was stated that the Initiative is against all three totalitarianisms – Nazi, fascist and communist. But, the plaque displayed near the former Ustaše concentration camp in Jasenovac with the slogan "Ready for the Homeland", was singled out, as for them, it is simply connected to the Yugoslav civil war and not the fascist greeting originally used during the Nazi-puppet Independent State of Croatia.

## HUNGARY | Jobbik gears up

FROM ISTVÁN TÓTH IN BUDAPEST

IN ITS BI-MONTHLY newspaper *Hazai Pálya* (Home Course) in May, the right-wing extremist Jobbik party proudly announced: "Jobbik will be the challenger to the ruling FIDESZ at the next national election in 2018". While the popularity of the coalition of the right wing FIDESZ and KDNP parties has dropped dramatically – losing about half million voters – Jobbik has managed to gain some support.

Jobbik's sudden optimism is based on the fact that there is total disarray among the democratic opposition parties. The prime ministerial candidates of the two biggest opposition parties (mayor of Szeged, László Botka, of the social democratic MSZP, and ex-PM Ferenc Gyurcsány of the centrist DK) are at war with each other while the small democratic parties. Párbeszéd (Dialogue), Együtt (Together), or LMP and Momentum refuse to cooperate or even to sit down to negotiate.

At a press conference in Budapest on 1 June, Jobbik's spokesman Péter Jakab said that a new poster campaign was being launched to take back stolen money and spend it on wages, pensions, education and healthcare after defeating FIDESZ. "I would like to give back the stolen faith, to prove that it makes sense to work in Hungary, to learn, and to give birth to a child" he said.

According to Jakab, people have a year to decide whether they want to live in a country where a thief is using a helicopter, while the honest are starving. He suggested voting for Jobbik in 2018 to remove Fidesz.



(left) Bruna Esih, MP for the right-wing Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)  
(right) Jobbik's spokesman Péter Jakab

## USA | Trump's presidency continues to inspire racists, hate-fuelled attacks

FROM THE CENTRE FOR NEW COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

TWO VIOLENT knife attacks fuelled by far right bigotry occurred within a week of each other on opposite sides of the country.

In College Park, Maryland, black US Army lieutenant Richard W. Collins III was killed days before he was set to graduate from university. The alleged assailant was a member of the far right Facebook group "Alt-Reich: Nation" and officials are investigating whether the assault was a hate crime. Another tragic incident

occurred only a few days later on a train in Portland, Oregon. A man began verbally attacking two women, one of whom was wearing a *hijab*. Three passengers – Taliesin Myrddin Namkai-Meche, Rick Best, and Micah Fletcher – came to their defence and were subsequently stabbed.

Of the three, only Fletcher survived. Weeks prior to the attack, the assailant reportedly shouted "Die Muslims!" and was photographed making Nazi gestures at a pro-Trump rally. At his court

hearing, the suspect yelled "Death to the enemies of America!" and "You call it terrorism. I call it patriotism."

On the campaign trail, Trump explicitly endorsed violence at least once and regularly failed to denounce violence inspired by his incendiary rhetoric in any meaningful way. These tragic attacks further reveal the dangers of an emboldened far right in the Trump era and highlight the necessity of solidarity in opposition to hate.



Guest column...

# Learning from Le Pen

By Cas Mudde

THE FRENCH presidential elections were a failure for Marine Le Pen. Not because she didn't win them, as no one serious believed she would, but because she significantly underperformed with regard to the polls and to the party's own expectations. While there were many specific reasons for this, linked to particular developments in French party politics and society, some broader lessons can be drawn.

Since the 1980s, the Front National (FN) has been the prototype of the populist radical right party family. Other parties have followed the FN's lead in terms of ideological and organizational innovation and have looked to Jean-Marie, and later, Marine Le Pen for European leadership. What happens to the FN is not just relevant to France. At the same time, what happens in France is not just caused by French circumstances.

First and foremost, the presidential elections confirmed what had been clear for months: the most recent surge in electoral support for Europe's populist radical right parties was linked to the so-called refugee crisis of 2015. Much of this boost was short-lived, with a peak in the middle of 2016, after which polls showed a steady decline.

That said, most populist radical right parties stabilised at a higher level than before the refugee crisis. This also applies to the FN, which did increase its score in the first round of the elections, from 17.9 percent in 2012 to 21.3 percent in 2017; an increase of 3.4 percent, or almost 120 percent of the 2012 result.

Second, the FN's second round result of 33.9 percent was disappointing, given that Marine Le Pen had polled similar scores for the first round in 2016, but it was still much more than her father got in 2002. Jean-Marie



Le Pen could only improve from 16.9 to 17.8 percent, an increase of less than 1 percent, and barely 700,000 votes (as turnout was much higher in the second round). Marine Le Pen improved from 21.3 to 33.9 percent, or more than 12.5 percent, and almost 3 million votes!

What this shows is that there is a growing group of people that does not necessarily support the populist radical right, but that considers it an acceptable second option – this was also shown in the Austrian presidential elections of 2016, where Norbert Hofer scored 35.1 percent in the first round and 46.2 percent in the second version of the second round.

Third, campaigns matter! Just like Geert Wilders in the Netherlands earlier this year, Marine Le Pen had a mediocre campaign – with some significant gaffes, most notably on France's responsibility for the 1942 anti-Jewish Vel' d'Hiv Roundup – and a particularly poor debate, in which she was skilfully attacked by Emmanuel Macron and struggled on several issues, most notably her plan for France to leave the Eurozone. Voters do hold populists accountable!

Fourth, the populist radical right is dependent upon the broader political context.

The so-called refugees crisis gave

it a boost and the EU-Turkey deal took much of that away again.

Brexit and Trump were supposed to create a favourable political context for the populist radical right, as it ensured that the political and public debate would be focused on "their" issues and frames, but proved a double-edged sword.

The incompetent handling of Brexit by the British government has led to a rise in support for the EU and a more cautious approach to hard Euroscepticism. Marine Le Pen partly fumbled the question on the Eurozone because she was trying to soften her "Frexit" position in line with this Europhile backlash.

The main lesson that Marine Le Pen herself has drawn from the presidential elections is that she has to become even more separated from the toxic image of the FN. Her presidential campaign had already been almost devoid of any linkage to her own party. She campaigned as Marine, ditching the Le Pen name (which is too much linked to her even more divisive father), the FN name, and the FN logo – Marine had a soft flower rather than the hard (if now more stylised) flame of the FN.

She even temporarily renounced her party leadership in between the two rounds, in an unsuccessful attempt to separate herself even more from the FN.

After the parliamentary elections, she is expected to take this process of separation one crucial, and controversial, step further by renaming the *Front National*.

The respray is in part a consequence of the fact that the most important anti-establishment party of France is also one of the oldest, at least in name. Only the name of the Socialist Party (PS) is older, having adopted it in 1969, three years before the FN was founded.

The centre-right has rebranded at least twice since the FN was founded, from Rally for the Republic in 1976 to the Union for a Popular Movement in 2002 to The Republicans in 2015. The other two main parties are very new: Left Front (FdG) was founded in 2008, while Macron's En Marche (Onward) was founded in 2016 – and has already been renamed once, to Republic on the Move (LREM) last month.

In other words, Marine Le Pen's main challenge is to present herself as a fresh, new alternative to the establishment, while the FN and a Le Pen have been part of French politics during most French voters' whole life. Given the pivotal role of the FN within the broader party family, Marine's rebranding of the FN could profoundly reshape the European populist radical right. Time will tell how.



# Far right takes to the waves but HOPE not hate report helps stem the tide

Simon Murdoch reports

**I**n a frantic attempt to tarnish those saving lives in the Mediterranean, members of the pan-European far right Identitarian movement are on a mission to block search and rescue boats.

The Italian coast guard in the Sicilian port of Catania detained three members of the anti-Islam, anti-immigrant and xenophobic Identitarian movement, as well as Canadian alt-right journalist Lauren Southern, on 12 May. This followed an attempt to prevent a migrant and refugee rescue boat from travelling to Libya from Sicily.

Southern met Génération Identitaire, the youth wing of the French branch of the movement, when she covered the French elections in Paris. Now, travelling in a small boat with members of the movement and talking on a livestreamed Periscope video, Southern exclaimed: "If the politicians won't stop the boats, then we'll stop the boats!"

The group then lit a flare to draw the rescue boat's attention and unfurled a banner that read "NO WAY for Human Trafficking", a clear attempt to besmirch the lifesaving work of search and rescue ships.

After being released while awaiting being charged, Southern appeared in another Periscope video, this time with Martin Sellner, the leader of the Austrian Identitarian movement.

Southern had previously expressed support for Sellner in an interview with him while she was still at the Canadian far right media company *Rebel Media*.

Sellner hinted in the livestream that this was just the start and that the

future mission of the Identitarians was to continue to "track down and stop [the] dirty work of these human trafficking ships".

Like the banner's claim, this deliberately conflates the lifesaving work of search and rescue with human trafficking groups, and tries to conceal the Identitarians' real anti-migrant agenda.

A video on Southern's YouTube channel the following day, again featuring Sellner, added that the Identitarian movement would set up a site where people can sign up to help their mission to block search and rescue boats.

They have since set up a page to raise funds to "gather a crew, equip a boat and set sail on the Mediterranean to chase down the trafficking ships".

Despite Sellner claiming in the most recent video he did with Southern that "when we are protecting our borders, we also want to help those people there", the new "Defend Europe" site reveals the Identitarians' hate-fuelled motives. It states: "[...] ships packed with illegal Immigrants are flooding into European waters. An invasion is taking place. This massive immigration is changing the face of our continent. We are losing our safety and our way of life and there is a danger we Europeans will become a minority in our own homelands."

Besides raising funds through the site for travel costs, ships and film equipment, the site also indicates that it needs funds for "Research" with an icon displaying the 4chan logo.

Sellner had intimated in the same livestream with Southern that they would rely on 4chan.

Sellner called on the help of "4chan / pol/ autists" in this boat-blocking effort, adding that "you on the internet and we on the sea, together we can stop this".

Southern echoed Sellner's request, stating "absolutely, /pol/ we're gonna [sic] need your help now!" (/pol/ is a subsection of the image sharing 4chan site, and "autists" is an ableist reference to autism used to refer to members of the site who are considered socially awkward but technologically adept.)

This, evidently, is an attempt to repeat the alt-right's likely recent reliance on 4chan's user base during the #MacronLeaks hacking campaign.

The boat Southern identified in her livestream is the *Aquarius*, a vessel operated by the NGO SOS Méditerranée, and which has an onboard medical team from Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF).

SOS Méditerranée's site states that its search and rescue effort was created in response to the "dramatic increase of boats in distress and the insufficiency of existing measures" to the crisis in the Mediterranean.

Contrary to the image painted by Southern and Génération Identitaire, SOS Méditerranée aims to "save individuals who have embarked on the dangerous crossing from Libya to Europe in overloaded boats unfit for the high seas".

Furthermore, as its charter states, the organisation protects and assists migrants once in Europe "through guidance and accompaniment to the proper authorities" and helps inform "migrants in their home and/or transit countries [...] of the dangers they expose themselves to".





The banner displayed by Southern and the Identitarians when they attempted to block the rescue boat

Southern claimed in her livestream of the boat-blocking that the vessel had been "illegally bringing in migrants from the Libyan ocean for the last while, and they're just heading again out to bring in more illegal migrants", adding, hysterically: "we're going out to stop them, no way they're coming in here, no way they're bringing in more illegals".

However, both SOS Méditerranée and MSF state that their rescue operations are coordinated with the Maritime Rescue Coordination Centre in Rome, the official body for such operations in the Mediterranean.

Furthermore, the MSF's website highlights that these efforts are in compliance with international maritime law, both regarding legal patrolling distances from the Libyan coast and the legal obligation to assist boats in distress.

Importantly, it adds that if they were not there, other vessels "that do not specialise in search and rescue operations, would be asked to assist boats in distress".

The Identitarians' "Defend Europe"



mission wilfully ignores such considerations of genuine risk to human life. Instead, the argument is turned back towards Europe when their site claims: "We are preparing a big rescue mission on the Mediterranean. It's a mission to rescue Europe by stopping illegal immigration."

After HOPE not hate's revelations of the actions and true intentions of the Identitarians, our research has begun to

help turn the tide on their harmful, and potentially life-threatening, mission to "defend" Europe.

HOPE not hate spoke to *The Observer's* Mike Townsend, to provide background information on the developments in the Mediterranean and to state that: "While these actions are appalling, unfortunately they don't shock us. The fact that these far right activists are seeking to prevent a humanitarian



mission, helping some of the most vulnerable people in the world today – including women and children at risk of drowning – speaks volumes about them and where their compassion lies.”

Since its publication on 4 June, the article has been shared almost 40,000 times, and is cited by activist and journalist Caroline Criado-Perez in a crowdfunding effort for MSE. At the time of writing the crowdfund has raised over £70,000 of its £100,000 target.

Shining a torch on the vile plans of this far right movement is all the more vital given that its fundraising campaign has managed to continue despite setbacks.

On 1 June, Defend Europe exceeded

its own €50,000 crowdfunding appeal, raising €64,023. Generazione Identitaria, the Italian branch of the Identitarian movement, followed this on 3 June with the announcement of a tour of Italian cities to explain its mission to supporters. The tour has so far visited Catania, Olbia, Modena, Brescia, Bolzano, Varese, Udine, La Spezia, Milan and Bergamo.

Growing coverage from the media led PayPal to freeze Defend Europe's account on 13 June, forcing the Identitarians to launch a new crowdfunding effort the following day for €30,000 (purportedly the total amount lost after the PayPal freeze). They then switched to using direct payments to an Italian current account.

On 24 June, they announced they had switched to a fundraising effort, using the decentralised, anonymous online cryptocurrency Bitcoin, after further blocking of its accounts. Martin Sellner stated they had “already recovered almost all the money [...] sent back because of the closure of [the] PayPal account”.

On June 26 they claimed to have secured a ship with “a range of 3,000 nautical miles” a “place for a crew of 25” and a “crane for RIBs [small inflatable boats]”.

The Identitarians also launched further Bitcoin crowdfunding for €60,000 for “daily costs, for the crew, fuel, etc.”

Crucially, the costs are so that the ship,

## WHAT IS THE IDENTITARIAN MOVEMENT?

THE IDENTITARIAN movement is a pan-European, far right movement that started in France in 2002 with the launch of Génération Identitaire, youth wing of the far right Bloc Identitaire.

It has since spread across the continent with some affiliated groups, the most prominent of which are in Germany, Italy, and Austria. The movement sees itself as a “meta-political project” aiming “to protect European identity” by opposing immigration, Islam, refugees and the supposed social and political elites that,

it believes, advance a multicultural and socially left-wing agenda.

One of the movement's key activists, Markus Willinger, rails against political elites who “disgust us” and condemns the increasing acceptance of LGBT+ people in society (which he refers to as “the union of nothingness”), calling instead for a return to traditional gender roles because “Women want to be conquered”. He also rejects multiculturalism outright stating: “We don't want Mehmed and Mustafa to become Europeans”. Like the French

New Right philosopher Alain de Benoist, he advocates ethnopluralism (the notion that ethnic groups ought to be geographically separated).

The symbol of the movement is a black and yellow flag bearing the lambda, an emblem taken from the shields of the Spartan army in Ancient Greece. The Identitarian movement is notorious for its provocative and controversial stunts, usually directed against Muslims and immigrants, with a view to raising funds and increasing its public profile.





which we believe is currently harboured in Djibouti off the east coast of Africa, can travel to the Suez Canal and onward into the Mediterranean in mid-July.

Having already hindered the Identitarians' funding operations, we are currently exploring all other options to make sure this ship does not hamper the NGOs' life-saving work in the Mediterranean.

Specifically, HOPE not hate is monitoring this ship, reaching out to NGOs who could be affected by the Identitarians' plans, and creating legal briefings. These briefings are to raise further awareness via the press and also to inform NGOs and influence

politicians and other relevant parties.

Raising as much awareness as possible is vital to ensure the Identitarians' actions are scuppered. This is urgent.

In the campaign citing HOPE not hate's report done with *The Observer*, Caroline Criado-Perez draws attention to how the far right has exploited recent terror attacks to promote divisive, dangerous messages: "Far right agitators would have you believe that it is these desperate people, these traumatised families, who are a danger to us. They think the right response to terrorism is to make sure more of them drown. But the reality is, the people they are fleeing from are terrorising them with the same

**If you wish to donate to the crowdfunding campaign, visit: <https://www.gofundme.com/uniteagainstterror>**

twisted ideology of those trying to bring terror to our streets... You wouldn't try to stop a victim of a terror attack fleeing from danger. Don't let the far right do this to refugees. Don't let the far right's hatred define us as Brits, or as Europeans. Now is not the time to give in to fear and hatred."

This is a message that HOPE not hate wholly endorses. ●



**"NOW WE ARE ABLE TO ORGANISE A REAL MISSION WITH A BIG SHIP THAT WILL CRUISE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND BLOCK THOSE NGO SHIPS FROM GOING TO THE LIBYAN COAST."**

MARTIN SELLNER,  
Leader of Defend Europe.

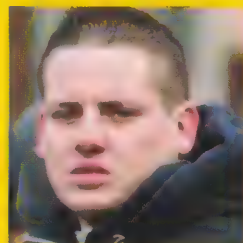
## KEY DEFEND EUROPE ACTIVISTS



**Martin Sellner**

Martin Sellner is the co-leader of Identitäre Bewegung Österreich, the Austrian branch

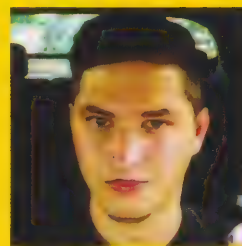
of the Identitarian movement. Born and based in Vienna, he is a philosophy and law student, graphic artist, and co-owner of the "patriotic lifestyle" brand Phalanx Europa. He frequently acts as a figurehead of the Identitarian movement, especially online, through his personal – as well as his "Identitarian View" – YouTube channels. He has also contributed to the German far right journal *Sezession* and has created an app for "patriots" to network, known as Patriot Peer.



**Daniel Fiss**

Daniel Fiss is the leader of Identitäre Bewegung Deutschland, the German

branch of the Identitarian movement. Born and based in Rostock, Germany, Fiss studies political science and was previously an active member of the nazi National Democratic Party of Germany's youth wing. He maintains connections with the right-wing populist party, Alternative for Germany, and has stated that the party could become the Identitarians' "extended arm".



**Patrick Lenart**

Patrik Lenart is co-leader of Identitäre Bewegung Österreich, the Austrian branch

of the Identitarian movement, and was previously head of its branch in Styria, in southern Austria. Lenart was born in the Austrian state of Carinthia and is based in the Styrian capital Graz where he studies philosophy and law.



**Clément Galant**

Clément Galant is a leading activist in Génération Identitaire, the French

branch of the Identitarian movement, a development of the original French Bloc Identitaire movement.



**Lorenzo Fiato**

Lorenzo Fiato is the leader of Generazione Identitaria, the Italian branch of the Identitarian

movement. Based in Milan and studying political science, he has been active in leading the Identitarians' "Defend Europe" campaign to disrupt humanitarian NGO ships in the Mediterranean.



# The Mediterranean gra

**The Mediterranean crossing is as deadly as ever, writes Safya Khan-Ruf, yet Europe still appears unable or unwilling to find a solution to the ongoing refugee and migrant crisis.**

THE IMAGE of a sinking boat overloaded with refugees has become a symbol of the continuing catastrophe on the Mediterranean Sea.

The thousands of men, women and children that have drowned represent the multiple crises in the surrounding regions, from the broken promises of the Arab Spring and the bombed cities of Syria to the lucrative smuggling routes across North Africa and the divided European nations frozen into inaction.

The countries bordering the Mediterranean, from Algeria and Egypt to Syria, Turkey, Italy and Greece, face unprecedented challenges with the influx of refugees and migrants.

More than 5,000 people died or went missing on the Med last year, according to the United Nations' refugee agency, the UNHCR – more than three times the number of deaths caused by the sinking of the Titanic. And that is a conservative estimate.

This year, the number of dead and missing has already reached 2,030. This includes two of the three shipwrecks found on the World Refugee Day, 20 June.

Italy has now threatened to stop the vessels of other countries bringing refugees and migrants to its ports, Italy's EU representative, Maurizio Massari, warning in a letter to European Union leaders that the situation is "unsustainable".

Many feel the EU has looked the other way, leaving individual countries on the frontline such as Italy

struggling to keep up with the arrivals.

Last year alone, more than 360,000 refugees and migrants arrived in Europe, split mainly between Italy and Greece, while this year more than 77,000 have already made the journey.



*People in distress at sea deserve rescue and we have a duty in Europe to rescue them*

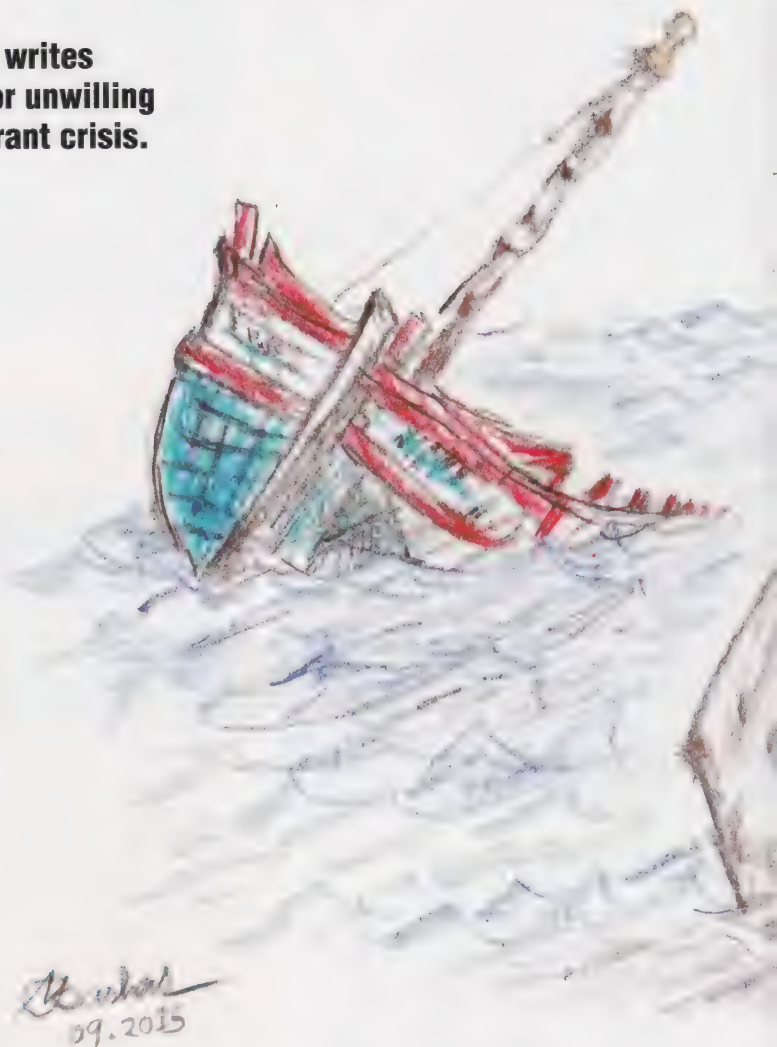


Federico Fossi, a senior UNHCR spokesperson, says he hopes Italy's position is just a threat to urge the EU to do more. "France has been closing its borders with Italy and with the weak re-localisation mechanism in place, many refugees and migrants remain in Italy," he explains.

It is unclear what a halt to boats carrying refugees and migrants would look like. The Italian coastguard coordinates all the search and rescue ships reaching Italy from NGO crowd-funded ships even to merchant ships passing close to a sinking boat.

## **Danger on the journey**

Deaths across the Mediterranean do not only come from drowning (due to the dangerous journey and poor seaworthiness of many of the vessels). Smugglers often overcrowd boats and search-and-rescue teams



have found the bodies of people asphyxiated by the weight of hundreds of others or drowned at the bottom of dinghies in a mix of seawater and gasoline.

The lack of safe routes into Europe gives smugglers great power. Migrants and refugees that make it to shore have reported being kept in caves, ditches and holes for days and even weeks before being forced out onto the sea.

Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), an independent humanitarian organisation, also reports widespread sexual abuse, executions and even torture in Libya.

Many of the women rescued on the Mediterranean Sea were pregnant through rape and the threat of sexual

violence has caused some women to opt for long-term contraceptive implants before they travel, to ensure they do not become pregnant.

## **Why cross the Mediterranean?**

People have been making their way to Europe for decades but over the past few years, the numbers have soared.

In 2015 alone, more than one million refugees and migrants crossed the Mediterranean Sea, often travelling from Turkey or North Africa. In the same year, 95,000 unaccompanied minors claimed asylum in Europe, having made the journey alone or been separated from their parents.

NGOs report many of those



# graveyard of Europe

Illustration:  
Ani Bashar/Flickr



who make the journey pay huge sums of money for an uncertain and sometimes deadly future.

Some are deceived by the traffickers into thinking it will be a simple journey; others do not know that Libya is at war and many are unaware that they will not necessarily be welcomed in Europe and given the right to work.

In March 2016, the EU made a deal with Turkey to prevent unchecked arrivals into Europe and providing for (supposedly) easy return back to Turkey.

The agreement aimed to reduce the huge flow of smuggled migrants and refugees travelling from Turkey to Greece. In exchange, the EU member states would increase resettlement of

refugees residing in Turkey.

The longer, more perilous, journey across the Mediterranean Sea from Libya to Italy has now become the main migrant route into Europe.

Fossi says the EU-Turkey deal is not the cause of the surge of people sailing through the Mediterranean route – most taking the route are from sub-Saharan Africa while those in Turkey were mostly Syrians.

However, there is no doubt the journey is a lot more dangerous. According to the International Organisation for Migration's Missing Migrants project, the rate at which migrants die or vanish when departing from Libya is 10 times higher than on the previous route to Greece.

## Action across the Mediterranean

The influx of migrants and refugees to Europe is impossible to halt while the root causes for the migration remain. Those on the move come from dozens of countries and move via fluid networks of smugglers.

Many of the lucky ones who succeed in their journey will be judged economic migrants in Europe, but returning them to their countries of origin is often impossible as the nation may be too unstable or the government refuses to accept them.

Since the sharp rise in 2015, thousands of volunteers across Europe have come to places like Italy to help those seeking asylum and participate in Search and Rescue missions.

Jessie Seal is a volunteer at Jugend Rettet, a German-based organisation made up of a network of young Europeans: "As young Europeans we cannot – and don't want to – accept the status quo of the European asylum policies. We need a programme focusing on rescue from maritime emergency and we need to decriminalise the search for asylum..."

"People are kept away from 'Fortress Europe' by newly-built walls and are generally restricted in their mobility – we oppose those measures," the Jugend Rettet website states.

The group crowdfunded a ship, *The Luventa*, which has been rescuing people in the Mediterranean Sea for nearly a year.

The crew is composed entirely of volunteers with

specialised skills, such as doctors and ship's engineers, with a fire fighter from Spain as head of the mission.

"People in distress at sea deserve rescue and we have a duty in Europe to rescue them," Seal says. Like many other NGOs, Jugend Rettet is trying to fill the gap left by the EU that is caused by the complex and divided politics across Europe in response to the influx.

NGOs and organisations like the UNHCR and MSF have called for safe passageways for refugees and migrants in order to prevent more deaths across the Mediterranean.

The UNHCR has also called for the search and rescue mechanism to be strengthened and for the root causes of forced migration to be addressed.

Meanwhile, far right 'Identitarian' movements are mobilising across the continent to crowdfund for their own ship to impede the humanitarian rescue effort, and harass and intimidate NGOs and their staff.

It is unlikely that refugees and migrants will stop fleeing the desperate and dangerous situations they face across the world and which make them seek safety and stability in Europe.

Thus as the number of dead across the Mediterranean Sea keeps rising, the frozen inaction of the EU and individual member states needs to be broken. People will continue to seek safety and these complex issues will not be resolved by turning a blind eye to the dead. ●





Football Lads Alliance  
demonstration in London  
on the 24 June 2017



# A storm is brewing

By Nick Lowles

PERHAPS ONLY TIME will tell the full impact of the recent terrorist attacks but I fear that they will herald a significant shift in opinions...and in the wrong way.

It is not just that there have been four attacks in less than three months but it was the indiscriminate nature of the attacks, too.

When 52-year-old Khalid Masood drove into pedestrians on Westminster Bridge and later killed a police officer on the afternoon of 22 March society, killing five people, society rallied round. The Government's claim that this was a lone extremist, who had nothing to do with Islam, attacking the values of British society was generally accepted and repeated.

It undoubtedly helped that the killer was killed at the scene and his demise so graphically captured on national TV. But still, society rallied in opposition. Muslim community leaders instantly spoke out in condemnation. Politicians and the media echoed the Prime Minister's line and campaign groups like HOPE not hate produced high quality videos calling for unity in opposition to the extremists.

Britain First and the English Defence League both attempted demonstrations but failed miserably to attract more than a few hundred people between them. Perhaps more importantly, there was no obvious increase in anti-Muslim attacks

in the days that followed.

The reaction to the attack, given the circumstances, could hardly have been better. But then came the Manchester attack and the mood noticeably changed.

The indiscriminate targeting of young people as they were leaving a concert at the Manchester Arena provoked understandable anger, fury and fear across all sections of society.

Police and the British Transport Police reported an immediate spike in anti-Muslim attacks in the days following the Manchester attack. Researchers recorded over 27,000 Islamophobic tweets in the 24 hours after the attack, considerably more than the 12,000 that had been recorded in the 24 hours after the Westminster attack.

And among society at large, there was anecdotal evidence that the attitude of the public towards Muslims had soured. Election campaigners felt it on the doorstep, it was evident online and clearly picked up in the focus groups we held immediately after the attack (see side bar over).

The third attack, at London Bridge on 3 June, appears to have just reinforced the hardening views. Anti-Muslim abuse on Twitter erupted, with 25,000 individual tweets from UK-based users being recorded in 24 hours following the attack. And, again, there was an upsurge of attacks.





# CITIZENS' PANEL

HOPE not hate and British Future conducted a focus group in Bolton two days after the Manchester attack as part of our National Conversation on Immigration. Unsurprisingly, the attack was heavily discussed:

The attack had clearly had an immediate impact on the way people perceive others in their communities. From the very start of our citizens' panel, people told us that the bombing on Monday evening had changed the way they thought about immigration.

*"I probably would have a more positive response if it wasn't for what happened on Monday, if the truth be honest... It's out of control now"*

The attack was not committed by a migrant but a man born and brought up in Manchester, something that the panel discussed and understood. But press coverage of the suspect's Libyan heritage, his connections with the Libyan exile community in Manchester and claims that a Libyan flag was raised outside his family home have had a strong impact on how he was viewed by our panel.

It was clear throughout the discussion that integration was a key issue perhaps given the proximity to the attack. Many on the panel felt the attacker was an extreme example of "the minority spoiling it for the majority", an example of where integration has not worked and where first and second generations were living separate lives from the wider community.

Everyone we spoke to in Bolton was proud of the way Manchester had responded to the attack. The citizens' panel said that it felt closer as a community through coming together, as people of many different backgrounds, to stand against hatred. But there were concerns across the group that *"when it dies down, we're left to our own devices"*.

It was felt that something more was needed to maintain this spirit and take the community response forward so that those who had come out did not retreat into even more closed-off groupings.

The lasting impact of the attacks on the wider Muslim community was a concern shared by participants and, sadly, it is clear that the conflation of terrorist activity with Muslims living in Britain is quite deeply ingrained. Muslim participants on the citizens' panel felt that the attack had set a real barrier to integration for their communities: *"Every time we feel one step closer to integrating, we get sent ten steps back."*

There was also a degree of resignation on the citizens' panel that events such as the Manchester Arena attack are becoming the norm. While older participants made historical comparisons with IRA activity, for those who did not live through this, the conflation of terrorist activity with demographics was more pronounced.

Throughout the conversation, it was apparent that, for many, their thoughts on immigration were directly informed by how they saw integration, processes that were sometimes confused.



Interestingly, while mainstream civil society held another vigil and there were the same calls for unity and peace, the number of positive tweets on Twitter dropped. Attitudes were evidently hardening – not helped by the fact that two of the three attackers were well known to the authorities and, perhaps, vigil fatigue was kicking in.

The following week around 2,000 right-wing activists attended a 'United Against Hate' demonstration organised by Stephen Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson) in central Manchester. While many of those present would have been seen at an EDL demo in its heyday, the way local people poured out of nearby pubs to meet/greet Lennon was deeply worrying. There is little wonder that he was crowing about his reception over the following few days.

A fortnight later over 5,000 "football lads" – a euphemism for football hooligans – marched silently through central London to London Bridge. In an incredible display of unity, gangs from West Ham, Millwall, Chelsea, Spurs and Arsenal marched alongside each other in opposition to terrorism.

These marchers were not EDL or far right activists. They were ordinary men, mostly in their 40s and 50s, registering their opposition to what had happened. While it is too early to tell where this movement will go – they have now called a national demo in London on 7 October – the march reflects how much wider





forces in society are getting drawn into this debate and this could be potentially very dangerous.

While the fourth attack was by a Welshman on Muslims in Finsbury Park, there is a worrying feeling that this wave of terrorist attacks is becoming the norm in British society. Some acts, like Manchester and London Bridge, will be well planned. Others, like Finsbury Park, could be violent reaction.

HOPE not hate is producing a new Fear & HOPE report so we will soon have more information on how people view these terrorist attacks but, in the meantime, we have to understand the reaction and anger generated by these attacks and not simply dismiss or condemn it.

The public wants answers and reassurance that the authorities are doing everything possible to protect it. It wants all those involved in attacks quickly caught but also wants to feel safe at home, in the streets and in town centres.

Just condemning the far right is not enough now. If we do not give people and communities the reassurance and security they rightly demand, then increasing numbers of people will look to the right for answers.

This is what we must now do: in the immediate aftermath of any attack, our priority is to bring people together around a peaceful, unifying message. We have to show that the majority of

people stand against these extremists and we cannot let community tensions boil over into violence and hatred.

But, at the same time, we must start to work with others to provide solutions to the palpable anger out there.

How do we prevent – or at least limit – further terrorist attacks? Is Prevent fit for purpose? If it needs to change, then how? How can the authorities target Islamist extremists without stigmatising entire Muslim communities? Is there more that Muslim communities could do to challenge extremism in their own communities? What more can civil society do to help them? What more should we all do as individuals? And should we be prepared to give up some freedoms for the sake of greater security?

For too long, the left and progressives generally have shied away from this debate for fear of upsetting one group or another. This cannot continue. It is easy to be critical of Prevent – as many on the left are – but without a realistic and workable alternative, that has the security and safety of the British people at its core, we are leaving the political field clear for the far right to exploit.

When Louise Casey published her report into Integration (or lack of it) late last year there was almost universal silence from liberal society. Even if we don't agree with her conclusions, Casey highlighted some very real and difficult problems in society.

It is no longer enough to stand on

the sidelines and just moan about government counter-terrorism policy. We have to begin to actively engage because if we do not we are just leaving the field open to authoritarian solutions.

We can – and should – promote and defend the concept of a multicultural and multi-ethnic society, but that is insufficient on its own if we do not offer people reassurance and security. When people lose trust in the authorities and the political system to defend them and their children, that is when they turn to the far right for simplistic and radical answers.

The callous attack on young people in Manchester risks being a major watershed moment in community relations in Britain. Whether it does will partly depend on whether ordinary people can find a way to unite around a positive agenda and find the reassurances and security they need.

As a society we need to be more proactive and find better ways to defeat those who want to destroy our lives. We need the Government to properly crack down on the haters while, at the same time, we need civil society and local communities to come together and forge stronger shared identities and build resilience to hate through offering a real future for everyone in society.

HOPE not hate's mission is *Challenging Hate, Building Communities* – and that is exactly what is required now. ●



# THE GREAT GET TOGETHER

INSPIRED BY JO COX

With more than 100,000 events taking place across the UK on the first anniversary of Jo Cox's murder, the Great Get Together (GGT) was an amazing "coming together" of communities across the country.

Organised in the spirit of Jo's maiden Parliamentary speech, in which she said we have more in common than what divides us, HOPE not hate was proud to support and take part in this initiative.

Building on the More In Common campaign we ran in September 2016, our teams and volunteers put on dozens of GGT events, celebrating the very best of their communities.





# ELY & CAMBRIDGE

From Elisabeth Pop

Hundreds of people came together in Ely and Cambridge to celebrate the life and memory of Jo Cox and enjoy the Great Get Together.

People from across the Fens donated money to the local refugee resettlement campaign and signed up to support HOPE not hate at a stall in Ely market.

Then, at a coffee morning in the local Methodist church, Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Baha'is, Humanists and atheists joined Ely residents in conversation over cake and a cup of tea.

Finally, at St. Mary's Church, the main hub of the Ely Great Get Together, residents shared dishes from all over the world, made new friendships, while children drew messages of hope on human paper chains. The event would not have been possible without the support of Chris and volunteers from Ely Community Against Hate.

The next day we met in Arbury, the most deprived part of the city, with the support of the city council, human and migrant rights organisations, ethnic and faith communities, voluntary groups and local supporters.

We had speakers who spoke about why Cambridge was "home". Shahida Rahman, a writer, spoke about being a Muslim woman of Bangladeshi origin whose family has called Cambridge home for the past 60 years.

Aisha Shu, a refugee from Uganda, told how Cambridge residents raised thousands on pounds to pay for her legal fees and help her settle in the city. Mayor George Pippas shared his own story about being a refugee who came to Cambridge fleeing war in Cyprus and related how he was proof that anyone can make it in the UK and give something



back to the community.

We also supported the Ely Muslim Association in organising their Great Get Together Iftar while a picnic was organised with the support of the Cathedral, Peterborough Council for Voluntary Services, Peterborough Racial Equality Council, ethnic and faith community groups on the Peterborough Cathedral Green.

Be it in liberal Cambridge, in the conservative Fens or in multicultural, but economically deprived, Peterborough, the vast majority of people agreed that we have more in common than what divides us and that, as a country, we need to be more united, now more than ever!





# ROTHERHAM & SHEFFIELD UNITED



## From Nick Stevens

Around 1,000 residents of Rotherham and Sheffield came together at two fantastic Great Get Together events of celebration and solidarity in Rotherham's Clifton Park and Sheffield's Heeley City Farm in memory of Jo Cox and also as a show of defiance to those who spread hate, fear and division in our communities.

Organised as small-scale community festivals, both events basked in glorious sunshine, as groups of friends and families enjoyed the uplifting atmosphere, engaged with the various activities and stalls on offer, made new friendships and reignited old ones.

On the Saturday in Rotherham, local musicians spanning the genres of African-inspired drumming, choristers, political folk and a young people's dance group filled the running order at Clifton Park bandstand.

A minute's silence took place in memory of Jo, led by newly-elected Mayor of Rotherham, Eve Rose, and re-elected MP for Rotherham, Sarah Champion, who both made very moving speeches to an audience that observed the silence and subsequent addresses impeccably.

Throughout the day, Rotherham-based graffiti artist, the extremely talented Phil Padfield, gradually created a sepia portrait of Jo, with her immortal "more in common" words layered over the top. Local artist, and Rotherham Carnival

organiser, Vicky Hilton, ran activities with youngsters while the Doncaster Real Junk Food Project provided food for the crowds.

Friends at the Rotherham 12 Justice Campaign, with which HOPE not hate has been working, also ran a food tent, this one specifically feeding Rotherham's homeless community in the spirit of Ramadan.

Meanwhile, the picturesque Heeley City Farm in Sheffield played host to over 500 of the city's residents on Sunday, a day jammed full of music, art, activities, food and poetry.

Jazz, maypole dancing, Celtic folk rock, Southern African singing, R&B and Iranian folk were all the order of the day in the performance area, with SOSA-XA! encouraging the sun-soaked field into portions of audience participation.

Sheffield-based poets River and Mimi followed another moving speech commemorating the life of Jo Cox, by MP for Sheffield Heeley, Louise Haigh, with some verses written specifically for Sheffield's Great Get Together on the theme of unity.

HOPE not hate activists roamed the field for the entirety of the event, striking up conversations with attendees, while also monitoring the progress of the community static bike ride to Batley, which was conducted in solidarity with the residents of Jo's former constituency.

By 2:30pm the cyclists had peddled the 37 miles to Batley, fuelled by food courtesy of Sheffield Real Junk Food Project.

Throughout the course of the day, children made beautiful music instruments at the My Arty Party, attendees placed coloured dots on a huge map of the world indicating their country of origin and the beauty of migration, engaged in other art projects led by friends at Sheffield Amnesty International, joined hula-hooping workshops or just sat on the grass immersing themselves in the community atmosphere and enjoying a picnic.

With three divisive elections in two years, and with four terror attacks within the space of three months, not to mention the grooming horrors in Rotherham that have brought with them multiple far right incursions, it was incredibly heartening to see so many people turn their backs on hate, turn out en masse and in unity and embrace the events so enthusiastically.

A big "thank you" to everyone who made the Great Get Togethers in Rotherham and Sheffield possible.





# BIRMINGHAM

From Mahmooda Qureshi

## STREET IFTAR

Hundreds of people came from across Balsall Heath in Birmingham during the Great Get Together Sunday to join in Moseley Road's first ever 'Street Iftar', celebrating the life of Jo Cox.

HOPE not hate supported the event that took place with food donated by several local restaurants.

The event took place in a KwikFit car park and created a great buzz all over Birmingham. We expected about 500 people but had well over on the day! There were several live feeds on Facebook and social media and we all shared the donated food.

Speakers were invited from different faith backgrounds – Jewish, Christian, Hindu, and Sikh, alongside Muslims – and we also had representation from the city council which highly praised the initiative. HOPE not hate chaired the event.

People left quite emotional, stating how much they loved the evening and stating how much was a great need for such an event.

"We hope the Street Iftar will kick-start an annual intercultural and interfaith event where Balsall Heath can unite to break bread together," said Dr Noha Nasser, of MELA social enterprise, who ran the event.

"It is the start of the regeneration of the Moseley Road as a key meeting place for the neighbourhood," she said.

## DOVE4JO

Over 100 people created paper doves in memory of Jo Cox during the GGT Saturday at St Philip's Cathedral in Birmingham.

We screened a film showing different aspects of Jo Cox's life – as a mother, MP and campaigner – and displayed two huge



maps of Birmingham and the world where people played a prayer, showing that no matter where we had all come from, it was Birmingham that had brought us together.

Schools and visitors had been asked prior to the event to make a "dove4jo" and bring it along on the day. There were so many doves that we didn't have enough time to put them up on the tree which had been planted by Princess Diana more than two decades ago (the team put them up the following day too). Others made doves on the day and hung them on a "special" tree.

We had live music played by different local artists and the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of Birmingham and more than 100 others attended the event – a fantastic day for all.





# UKIP vote collapses but little goes to Labour

**Nick Lowles reflects on the 2017 General Election**

IF THE 2016 European Referendum was the chance of those 'Left Behind' to vent their anger at the political establishment, then the 2017 General Election was the Remainers' revenge.

Against all odds, Theresa May's Conservative Party lost her majority and is now only in Government after being propped up by the Democratic Unionist Party. Labour did unexpectedly well, with party leader Jeremy Corbyn running a strong and human campaign that excited supporters and was in sharp contrast to May's robotic and detached approach.

UKIP, on the other hand, had a disastrous election, polling just 2.8% of the vote, well down on the 12.8% it achieved in 2015. No wonder its leader Paul Nuttall quit the following day.

UKIP was always going to do badly but it would be wrong to suggest that its poor results reflect a loss of appetite for a radical right populist party in the UK.

Of course, UKIP's slightly bizarre and poor campaign, which placed banning the *burqa* at its heart, did not help but, in reality, the party was on a hiding to nothing from the outset. Nigel Farage and Arron Banks both knew that and this explains their decision not to stand.

The Conservatives called the election on the basis of delivering a "hard Brexit" so there was always going to be little room for UKIP to play its usual anti-establishment card.

On top of that, the

Referendum result had made past UKIP voters less angry and many were content to sit this election out.

UKIP decided not to contest seats with strong pro-Brexit MPs, so in the end the party only stood 377 candidates. The party went into the election full of bravado, boasting of winning several seats. In the end it was a case of saving their deposits... which very few of them managed to do.

UKIP's best result was in Thurrock, where it fared surprisingly well. It polled 20.1%, compared to 31.7% in 2015. However, even here it finished a distant third.

Elsewhere, the UKIP vote just crumpled. In Clacton, which UKIP won with 44.4% in 2015, the party polled just 7.6%. In Hartlepool, one of the seats where the party had most hopes, its vote tumbled from 28.0% to 11.5%. In Dagenham & Rainham, where it put a lot of work in, its vote tumbled from 29% in 2015 to just 7%.

Research by the polling organisation Populus suggests that the UKIP's vote did worse in strong Brexit areas and better in stronger Remain areas. There was less reason to vote in the former while, paradoxically, UKIP voters were determined to register their views in areas where they were a minority.

Research by HOPE not hate suggests about 40% of the 2015 UKIP vote went to the Conservatives in 2017, with just 13% going to Labour. Just 19% of UKIP's 2015 stayed loyal with the

remainder sitting out the election altogether. Of those who did vote UKIP, most were men over 50 years old.

The British National Party stood just 10 candidates in the election and between them attracted just 4,642 votes. The BNP vote was so small that it has officially been registered as 0.0% in the official results. It was a fitting indignity for the clapped-out fascist party.

While many Labour supporters will be emboldened by the results, given the dire predictions at the outset of the election campaign, a sense of perspective is needed.

Despite running on an economically more left wing platform than any recent Labour leader, Labour hardly made little inroad into the economically insecure white working class vote it had lost since 2001.

While Labour attracted 46% of social class DE, the Conservatives polled 34%. The position was reversed for social group C2, with the Conservatives attracting 44% to Labour's 39%. The two main parties were tied on 41% each for social class C1 – the skilled working class.

In truth, Labour excited its core 2015 support – a coalition of the young, working class families dependent on benefits of one sort or another, BAME voters and young professionals – but in even greater numbers.

Labour's vote was also boosted by an influx of affluent Remain voters,

especially in London who were motivated to vote against a hard Brexit.

Labour's failure to attract UKIP's 2015 vote suggest that age and cultural factors might now be bigger determining factors in how Britons vote than class.

Labour's economic policies should have resonated well with many ex-UKIP voters but the cultural gap between where they are and Jeremy Corbyn is so huge that they were happy to ignore what was best for their own economic interests.

And it is hard to see how circle being squared. To appeal to white working class voters in the Midlands and the North, especially those in towns, Labour risks alienating the increasingly socially liberal and younger support it is attracting from the larger metropolitan areas.

The Conservatives did attract much of the 2015 UKIP vote but in doing so, on a tough Brexit platform, alienated more socially liberal voters who had supported the party in 2010 and 2015.

Many political commentators have remarked how the 2017 election saw a return to the old two-party system. While this was undoubtedly true based on these results, the uncomfortable coalitions within each party – coupled with the political and economic stresses the country is likely to experience with Brexit – means that a splintering of the political landscape is likely. ●

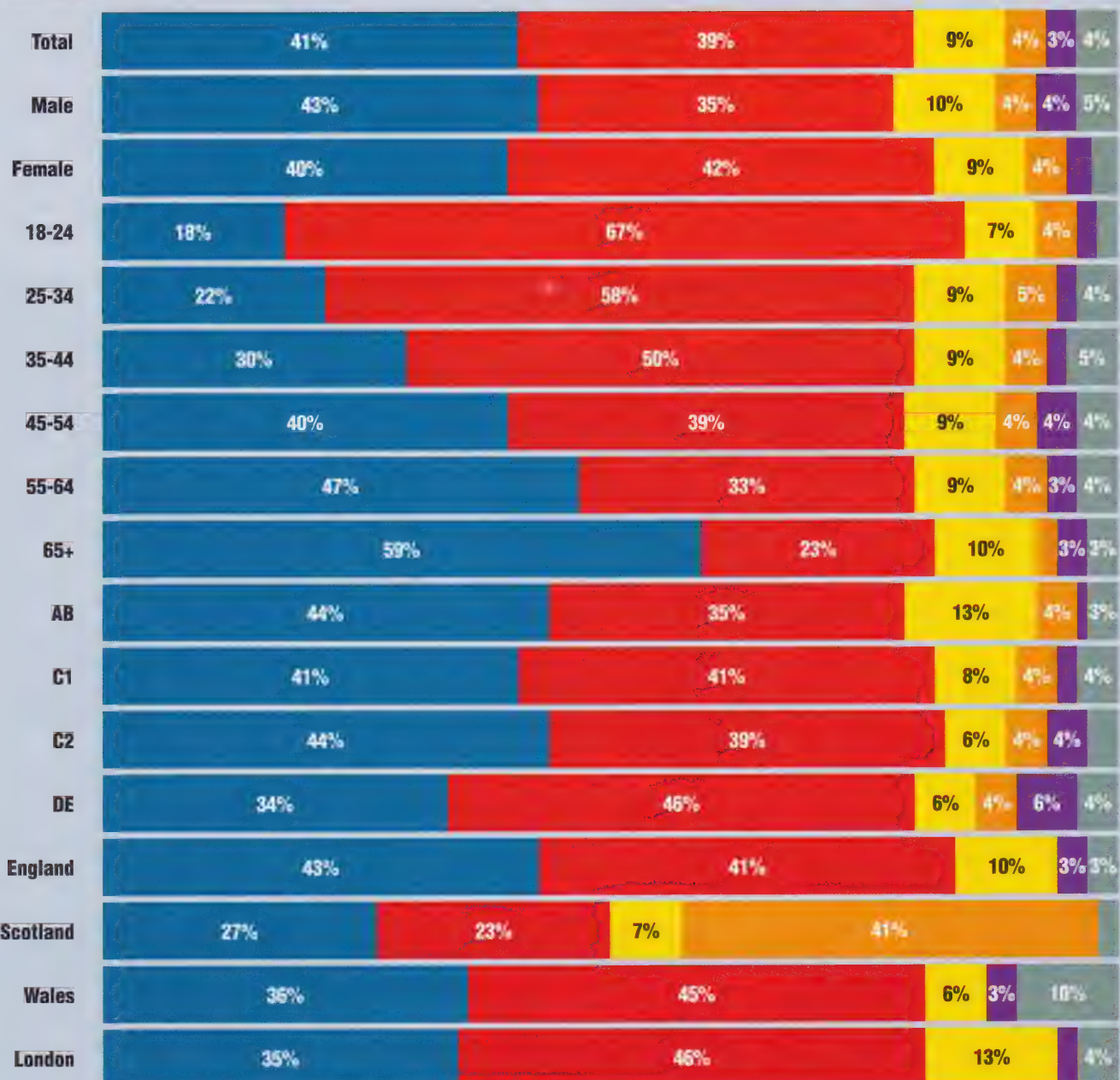


## BNP election results

Year	No of candidates	Total votes	% vote	Average votes per candidate
1983	54	14,621	0.00%	271
1987	2	563	0.00%	282
1992	13	7,631	0.10%	587
1997	54	35,832	0.10%	664
2001	33	47,129	0.20%	1,428
2005	117	192,746	0.70%	1,647
2010	339	563,743	1.90%	1,663
2015	8	1,667	0.00%	208
2017	10	4,642	0.00%	464

## How did Britain vote

## By demographic





# Facebook campaigning

**Haneef Khan**

HOPE not hate ran its most targeted and intensive Facebook campaign during the election campaign.

In total we ran five different campaigns:

- 1) Voter registration for young people
- 2) UKIP target seat campaign
- 3) Muslim GOTV campaign
- 4) Youth marginal seat campaign
- 5) Nationwide swing voter campaign

## **Voter registration for young people**

The purpose of this campaign was to register as many

young people as possible to vote using the video content produced by HOPE not hate's video team.

9,000 people clicked through to the Government Voter Registration website from this video.

## **UKIP target seat campaign**

The objective of this campaign was to target potential UKIP voters in the party's eight priority constituencies to discourage them from supporting the organisation.

To do so, we ran a campaign focusing on a selection of issues, including

wealth inequality, the NHS, fox hunting, policing and education.

Each ad was hyper-personalised to the constituency to maximise relevance.

We observed that the older our audience got, the more they were interested in policing, fox hunting and education.

The creative image that appealed most to young people featured a businessman with a cigar and messaging around UKIP supporting the rich, suggesting that fairness/wealth inequality could be

a most effective messaging strand with this audience.

Although awareness was our goal, we generated 9,595 clicks through to the HOPE not hate website, where potential UKIP voters could read about why they shouldn't vote for the party.

## **Muslim GOTV video**

Using HOPE not hate video material, we targeted members of the Muslim community all over the UK to encourage them to get out and vote.

The video was viewed 105,803 times by people from all over the UK.

**HOW TO AVOID  
A HISTORIC MISSED OPPORTUNITY**

There have been some **MASSIVE** missed opportunities throughout history

**REGISTER TO VOTE**  
[gov.uk/register-to-vote](http://gov.uk/register-to-vote)



# 2,092,473 people

Reached throughout the campaign

## 138 advert variants

Launched and optimised over just 11 days

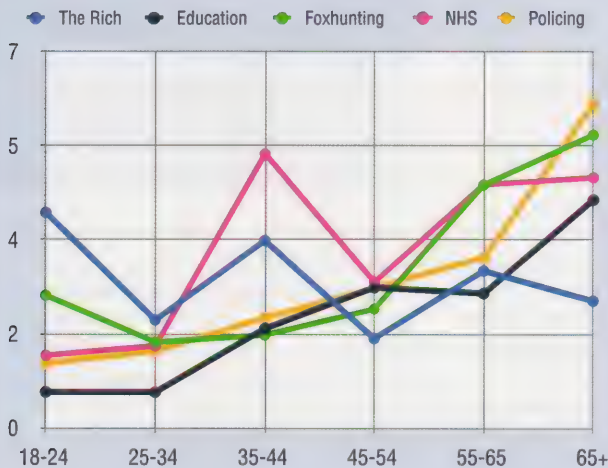
# 446,553 views

Of video content throughout the campaign

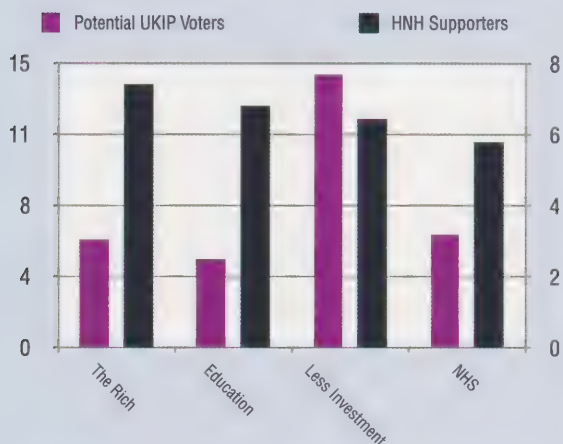
# 29,877 clicks

Through to websites  
(GOV.UK or HNH website)

We observed that the older our audience got, the more they were interested in policing, fox-hunting and education.



Which messages resonated most each audience?



**HOPE** HOPE not hate  
7 June at 12:17 · €

Tomorrow is election day!

Polling stations are open 7AM-10PM nationwide – don't forget to get out and vote.

SHARE with others to make sure everyone gets their chance to have a say on the future of our country.



Tomorrow is election day!

Polling stations open early at 7am and close late at 10pm – you can vote any time, such as before or after work.

© 2017 HNH.COM

[Learn More](#)

The campaign resonated with both male and female audiences, generating the most pull among 25-34 year olds.

### Youth marginal seat campaign

Building on the knowledge that when young voters realised they lived in a marginal seat, they were more likely to vote, we quickly launched a campaign spanning areas of the UK with key marginal seats.

We calculated that the campaign reached 584,741 young people in our key target areas. By identifying the potential audience sizes on Facebook, we have been able to calculate how much of that audience we reached during the campaign.

We estimate that, of the total potential audience, we reached an average of 28%. In some constituencies, like Bishop Auckland, we reached over 40% of young people on Facebook.

### Swing voters

This campaign identified a mixture of UKIP swing voters and existing HOPE not hate supporters, serving them the "UKIP has no solution" video.

We explored four different themes in this campaign:

1. The Rich (wealth inequality)
2. Education
3. Investment (areas outside London get less)
4. The NHS

The campaign reached 253,288 people in all: 211,971 UKIP targets, and 47,550 HOPE not hate supporters.

The video was viewed 187,654 times by people from all over the UK.

### Which messages resonated most each audience?

While HOPE not hate supporters were engaged by all the messages, by far the most effective messaging strand for UKIP voters focused on the idea that areas outside London get less investment. This is a finding that should fuel all future engagement with this audience.

We achieved a lot given that all this was delivered in the final two weeks of a snap election.

Some vital lessons were learned and we are confident that we will have an even more successful and effective campaign in future elections.



# The motivated youth

**Nick Lowles reflects on why young people turned out in such big numbers in this snap election.**

TOWARDS THE END of the election campaign and as part of our democratic engagement initiative, HOPE not hate linked up with the youth-orientated news website Buzzfeed to report on the findings of an exclusive youth poll conducted by ICM with the support of the National Union of Teachers.

The poll showed just how strong support for Labour was among 18-24 year-olds and pointed to an increased turnout compared with the 2015 General Election.

Nearly two-thirds of young people said they were certain to vote in the General Election which would see them play a decisive role in many marginal seats and, thus, in the final outcome

Of those who are registered and said they were certain to vote, two-thirds (68%) planned to back Labour.

The poll found that living in a key battleground seat could be an important factor in youth turnout, with four out of ten (39%) of 18-24-year-olds saying that living in a marginal constituency would make them more likely to vote.

With Lord Ashcroft's poll, published a day after our own, suggesting that there were 70 constituencies where the two leading parties' estimated vote shares were within 5% of each other, the turnout rate among young people could well define the outcome.

There was some scepticism about our poll with some commentators pointing to a poll, published a week before the 2015 General Election, that showed that 61% of 18-24-year-olds were "certain" to vote while only 43% actually did.

In fact, turnout was 53% among 18-24-year-olds in the 2017 General Election, which, while down on the self-declared turnout, was still substantially higher than in 2015.

While our poll found 68% backing Labour, Lord Ashcroft's huge exit poll of 12,000 people found that 67% of those young people who voted backed Labour. Just 18% voted for the Conservatives, 7% the Lib Dems and 4% others. A negligible 1% backed UKIP.

The low support for the Lib Dems was probably the greatest surprise as polls taken when the election was first called put them on 15-20% among 18-24-year-olds.

Labour's support was strongest in the Midlands (70%) and North (69%) and lowest in Scotland (56%) and Wales (58%). Labour had slightly lower support in the South, with the Lib Dems (15%) and Greens (5%) polling slightly higher than their national averages.

A mere 16% of young people said they would vote Conservative, compared with 8% for the Lib Dems, 3% Green, 3% SNP and 1% each for UKIP and Plaid Cymru.

Our poll found huge support for Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party, with two-thirds of those registered and certain to vote saying they supported Labour (68%), with half (50%) saying had the right qualities to be prime minister (against 28% for May).

Living in a marginal seat was clearly a motivator to turnout. Four out of ten young people said that living in a marginal would make them more likely to vote.

Our poll clearly showed why young people supported Labour. The NHS topped the issues worrying young people, with 54% listing it among their top two issues. Leaving the EU (26%), Education (22%) and Tuition fees (22%) formed their other most pressing concerns.

Only 8% of young people listed immigration in their two or three top



Photo: Adam Scott

issues of concern with only crime and defence lower.

Abolishing tuition fees was supported by 75% of young people, with just 17% opposed. An even bigger number (83%) thought the next government should guarantee young people access to apprenticeships with just 6% opposing the idea.

There were mixed views on a second EU referendum and legalising marijuana. Just over half of young people (52%) wanted the next government to commit to holding a second referendum on Brexit after negotiations had finished. 32% opposed the idea.

Two-fifths of young people supported legalisation of marijuana while 37% opposed such a move.

A majority of young people (55%) wanted 16-17-year-olds to have the vote while 35% disagreed.

Young people were nervous about the future. Only 5% of respondents had "high hopes" for Britain's future with a further 16% having "a good deal of hope". A quarter of voters (26%) had "a little hope" while 8% had "no hope".

Half of those who expressed "no hope" in Britain's future were to be found in northern England while a third of those having just "a little hope" were





significantly more likely to be found in Wales and the Midlands.

However, people were more positive about their own future with 47% having “high hopes” or a “good deal of hope”, while 18% had “little” or “no” hope.

There was clearly a lot of anxiety among young people about Britain leaving the European Union (EU) which most of them oppose. Half of young people (52%) believe that leaving the EU will reduce their life opportunities, with just 12% saying they will improve.

When asked to name one or two issues that they would like to see the UK negotiating team secure, almost half of voters, 49%, cited “freedom of movement” and the ability of UK citizens to live and work abroad and of EU citizens to live and work here.

A third of voters (35%) wanted Britain to retain full access to the single market and a quarter (25%) were concerned with not having to pay billions in exit fees.

Only 9% of young people wanted the UK to no longer be subjected to European law and 8% cited a reduction in the number of EU nationals coming to live and work in the UK as a priority issue.

These views on the European Union are probably not surprising given that the young people questioned

in our polled and who voted in the Referendum backed the EU by a margin of three to one.

The Conservative Party manifesto carried the promise to crack down on electoral fraud by introducing compulsory Voter ID when voting. We asked young people whether they thought that this would discourage them from voting and were surprised that only 14% said it would. Three quarters of respondents said it would not.

Despite enthusiasm for Labour, there remained deep scepticism of the wider political process and politicians generally. An overwhelming majority (72%) said they had no confidence in politicians or politics to solve their problems. Indeed, just 21% of young people have any confidence in politicians.

Trust or, more precisely, the lack of it remains a major issue for young people. Most felt that tabloid newspapers and wealthy individual donors had an unhealthy influence on British politics.

The BBC came out as a trusted source of information for 49% of young people, making it the single most trusted news platform. This compares with just 22% who trust newspapers (and 42% distrusted) and 18% social media (and

45% distrusted). Family and friends were trusted by 46%.

It is often said that political parties and the media generally ignore the views of young people because they are not interested in politics and do not vote.

Our poll contradicts that view to some extent. Almost half of respondents (48%) said that they were interested in politics with 51% saying they were not interested.

One in ten of those questioned said that they were members of political parties, with half being members of the Labour Party.

“It is everyone’s democratic right to vote,” Kevin Courtney, NUT General Secretary, told HOPE not hate. “That is why it has been so heartening to see such high numbers for voter registration, particularly among 18-24 year-olds, in the run up to this year’s deadline.

“It is great that so many young people are engaged in politics and recognise that they have an equal say,” he emphasised.

With young people turning out in bigger numbers than in recent elections we can only hope that all politicians will start to take their views more seriously and develop policies accordingly. ●



# You can stay but must give up citizenship rights

**Elisabeth Pop on Prime minister May's offer on the right to stay for EU nationals**

## 369 DAYS.

That's how long it took the PM to put a stop to the limbo that EU nationals living and working in the UK have struggled with since the day of the EU referendum result.

But, instead of matching the offer the EU put forward in April for the 1.2 million Britons in Europe – immediate, unilateral, full and life-long guarantee of residency rights – she told the 3 million-plus EU nationals in the UK that they must give up their EU citizenship rights and apply for a “settled status” if they want to stay in the UK.

### The good news

There was some good news in the PM's proposal, however. In a major win for campaigners, Theresa May dropped the requirement to prove possession of Comprehensive Sickness Insurance (CSI) for those who qualified under EU law as “self-sufficient”.

This will also greatly help students and stay-at-home parents who did not know they needed CSI (in the past year, 1 in 3 applications for permanent residence were rejected by the Home Office on this basis). EU citizens with 5 years lawful residence at a “cut-off” date (still to be determined) will be guaranteed “settled status”.

Mrs May did not use the terms “permanent residence” or “indefinite leave to remain”. Instead, she said, they will have equal rights with British nationals in terms of access to the NHS, education, pension but no right to vote.

In other words, if negotiations with the UK fail and Britain leaves without a deal, they will lose the right to vote in local elections and, potentially, even to stand in such elections. In fact, they will lose this “settled status” if they live outside the UK for more than 2 years.

Under the new system, the burden of proof will be on the state – using integrated data – not the applicant although some extra supporting

documents might be required.

All EU citizens will arguably be given temporary residence status after Brexit and a grace period of up to two years to apply for the settled status.

### Many questions and worries remain

Most of the PM's “offer”, however is either unclear or might be perceived by EU nationals in UK and EU officials as unfair. All EU nationals wishing to remain in Britain after Brexit will have to apply for inclusion on a “settled status” register. They might receive an ID card to be able to prove their status when applying for jobs, trying to rent or get a mortgage, accessing the NHS and will be fingerprinted, just as non-EU migrants are now.

The government's 15-page policy paper proposes a “light touch” online system to process applications but makes no mention of application fees, of when the process will start or what will be the “cut-off” point against which status will be considered (any time between 29 March 2017 and 29 March 2019).

To make matters worse, the tens of thousands of EU nationals who already applied and got their Permanent Residence Blue Cards since the EU referendum election are expected to apply yet again, despite having already paid £65 in application fees; many of them hundreds if not thousands of pounds in legal fees, gone to the stress of outsourcing kilos of paperwork in supporting evidence and putting their lives on hold for the 4 to 6 months it took for their applications to be processed.

Undoubtedly, the UK proposal is still less than what the EU offered in April. Mrs May has said that EU nationals will be able to bring family members into the UK “on the same basis as UK citizens”.

It does not alleviate worries over the status of children and other cases with difficult circumstances. For example, what will happen to people who have lived here for decades and have since retired? Or who took a period out



**In the 6 months after Brexit,  
40 thousand  
EU nationals left the  
UK and 43,000 less  
immigrated to the UK**

(Office for National Statistics, May 2017)

of employment to care for a family member? Or to the child of EU nationals who is over 18 and wants to study in Europe for more than 2 years, thus losing “permanent residence” status?

While the PM said that these rights will be enshrined in international law, she is adamant that they should be enforced by British Courts (not the European Court of Justice as the EU wants). And, this is only one of the sticking points.

With Michael Barnier, the EU's chief Brexit negotiator, remarking on Twitter that “more ambition, clarity and guarantees (are) needed than in today's UK position”, one of the major questions that remains is when the agreement with the EU will actually be made.

This could happen in anything between months or the end of the 2 years' negotiation period, thus prolonging the anxiety of EU nationals here and Britons in Europe, not to mention unnecessarily taking up precious negotiating time from an already short timeframe.







### Britain: A more xenophobic country? Unfair perception or state policy?

Mrs May opened her speech saying she wants EU nationals making a significant contribution to our economy and communities to stay. The reality is that many EU nationals do not just feel anxious about their future, they think Britain is turning more xenophobic and the government is deliberately making it unwelcoming to reach its arbitrary "ten of thousands" net migration target.

The PM's proposal has done little to alleviate such worries and to change this perception. And the consequences are already stark.

According to the latest Office of National Statistics (ONS) net migration figures, 40,000 EU nationals left the UK in the 6 months following the EU referendum vote and 43,000 fewer EU nationals have moved to the UK.

The week before Mrs May spelled out the position of the UK government, Oxford's Migration Observatory showed that, in the first 3 months of this year, the applicants for national insurance numbers (needed for employment) from the EU8 nations plummeted to about 26,000.

On 22 June, the National Farmers' Union said that the number of seasonal workers

Romanian baker, Florin Morariu, who was one of the heroes of the London attack (even PM May mentioned him in the speech announcing the 15 pages policy paper).

**96%**  
the drop in the number of  
European nurses registering  
to work in the UK since the  
EU referendum

(Nursing and Midwifery Council, Jun 2017)

employed to harvest fruit and vegetable crops has fallen by 17 per cent with more than 1,500 unfilled vacancies on British farms in May alone.

Meanwhile, the British Summer Fruits trade body warned that UK-based producers might even be forced to move their operations to countries within the EU to ensure labour market access after Brexit.

Ominously, at the beginning of June, the Nursing and Midwifery Council announced that the number of European nurses registering to work in the UK has plummeted by 96 per cent since the EU referendum.

And, research conducted by Deloitte before the snap election, but published on 27 June, found that 47% of highly skilled workers from the EU were considering leaving the UK in the next five years.

Overall, 36% of EU workers in the UK said they were thinking of leaving within

the same period, representing 1.2m jobs out of 3.4 million EU migrant workers in the UK. 26% said they were considering leaving within three years.

The PM's long awaited announcement on the status of EU nationals and the atmosphere of xenophobia, as well as the declining pound and economic insecurity, are making Britain less attractive and potentially poorer both economically and culturally.

This being just the opening stages of the negotiations and the government's opening offer, we can only presume that both sides will be forced to make further concessions down the line. It is to be hoped for all those touched by these issues that a truly "fair and serious" position will be mutually agreed sooner rather than later.



**47%**  
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(Deloitte, Jun 2017)



# UKIP tries to wriggle free

By David Lawrence

JUST A YEAR after achieving dizzying success in the EU Referendum, UKIP has slumped back onto the electoral fringe.

The party secured just 2% of the vote at the June general election, down 13% from 2015. Paul Nuttall – standing in Boston and Skegness, home of the largest Brexit vote in the UK – polled a poor 7% and abandoned the leadership within hours of the results and promptly deleted his Twitter account.

He leaves the party haemorrhaging money, members and morale, with UKIP's former chairman – a charisma vacuum named Steve Crowther – as interim leader.

UKIP's hope – that the return of Nigel Farage to the helm would provide the moribund party a new lease of life – was dashed when Farage ruled out standing again for the leadership role, stating that the party was in need of “serious reforms”.

The party remains deeply divided over the “integration agenda” brought in by Nuttall, which includes a *burka* ban and mandatory Female Genital Mutilation checks for selected girls. Such crass policies repelled longstanding officials like Jim Carver MEP and Jonathan Arnott MEP, prompting them to quit their positions. In an election allegedly defined by Brexit, this discriminatory platform put off the electorate as well.

Nuttall also shot himself in the foot by deselecting leading anti-Muslim activist Anne Marie Waters from standing as a parliamentary candidate under pressure from HOPE not hate and other media sources. The perceived persecution of Waters alienated many of those supporting her anti-Islam politics and has made her a lightning rod for the Islamophobes within the party.

Candidates have until 28 July to throw their hats into the ring and Waters has already announced she will be running for the leadership, alongside UKIP's Deputy Leader Peter Whittle, Bill Etheridge MEP, and David Coburn MEP.

While all of these candidates are hardliners on immigration and Islam, bitter quarrelling over Waters' campaign so far has marked the race. The winner – who will be UKIP's fourth leader within a year – will be announced at UKIP's national conference at the end of September 2017.

The chief candidates are:

## Peter Whittle

Former journalist Peter Whittle is UKIP's deputy leader and group leader in the London Assembly. Whittle, who considers UKIP to be a “cultural movement”, was a driving force behind UKIP's proposed *burka* ban. He told Arron Banks' Westmonster blog that he wants UKIP to become “the party that talks about integration and not multiculturalism”.

He contested the South Basildon and East Thurrock seat at the June election, receiving a dismal 6.8% of the vote. Being far less gaffe-prone than the other candidates, he stands a good chance of being elected leader although his preoccupation with Islam has made him unpopular with some.

Whittle was reportedly one of a handful of NEC members who voted against deselecting Waters as a parliamentary candidate in April. There are rumours that Whittle has done a deal with

Waters and will make her deputy leader if he wins the race. If true, this is bound to be deeply divisive and will spark further splits within the deeply fragmented party.

## Anne Marie Waters

Waters, who founded Sharia Watch UK and was a short-lived leader of the anti-Muslim street movement Pegida UK, is a leading British “counter-jihadist” and achieved notoriety for organising a Muhammad Cartoons exhibition in 2015. She has recently developed links to the far right in Scandinavia.

Waters announced her intention to run for the UKIP leadership at a disorderly anti-Muslim demonstration in Manchester in June organised by her close associate, former English Defence League leader Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson). Former BNP star Jack Buckby is also in the mix, helping promote her campaign launch in Rotherham.

Waters has painted herself



(left to right) Paul Nuttall, Peter Whittle, Anne Marie Waters, Bill Etheridge and David Coburn



# e from crisis

as a martyr following her deselection and has been able to mobilise a vocal, Islamophobic, bloc within the party. According to the *Guardian*, in the weeks following the announcement of Waters' candidacy, over 1,000 new members joined the in the party, sparking fears of far right "infiltration". Several high-ranking officials and MEPs have threatened a mass walkout if Waters takes the leadership.

## Bill Etheridge MEP

Defence spokesperson Etheridge has called for the return of the death penalty and a ban on *halal* meat and was urging a *burka* ban well before it was party policy. Despite his stance on Islam, Etheridge recently called for the removal of Waters and her "vociferous supporters" and condemned her for mobilising "neo-fascist entryists" into the party.

Etheridge has, himself, been the centre of numerous controversies, for example posing with "golliwogs" on

Facebook, praising Hitler as a "magnetic and forceful public speaker" and echoing Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech at a meeting in 2015. Etheridge's personal life has been the catalyst behind numerous fallouts in UKIP's Dudley branch.

Etheridge, who stood in Dudley North in the general election, received just 5.5% of the vote.

## David Coburn MEP

Coburn, UKIP's Scottish spokesperson, has also been the centre of multiple scandals, including being forced to apologise after calling Scottish government minister Humza Yousaf "Abu Hamza" and calling Scottish Conservative leader Ruth Davidson, a "fat lesbian". He also raised a few eyebrows when he stated that this country should breed more rather than allow increased immigration.

One of UKIP's most prominent gay politicians, Coburn opposes same-sex marriage. He has been critical of UKIP's *burka* ban on libertarian grounds, and

tweeted that he would "rather be thrown off Edinburgh Castle battlements than support [Anne Marie Waters]". Coburn recently stood in the Kirkcaldy and Cowdenbeath constituency, receiving a pitiful 1.2% of the vote.

## Obscurity

Not one of the current candidates appears close to being capable of lifting UKIP out of its current tailspin into far right marginality. The resignation of UKIP moderate Douglas Carswell in March and Suzanne Evans' exit from politics to battle cancer have removed major blocks for the new leader to push through hard right policies that are certain to alienate party moderates and large swathes of the electorate further.

"I've tried to deny it to myself for a very long time, coz of blood, sweat, tears, and Farage... but UKIP is now dead", tweeted Breitbart editor Raheem Kassam, once UKIP's loudest cheerleader.

## UKIP 2.0

As the woeful election results rolled in, Farage claimed he would have "no choice" but to return to politics if he felt Brexit was "threatened". Writing for the *Telegraph* on 2 July, Farage wrote: "If [UKIP] does not sort itself out and make the changes necessary to become a professional, modern political party, and if then we find ourselves with

a Brexit that falls short of the mark, another vehicle will then come along to replace it".

Arron Banks, UKIP's largest financial donor up to now, has long spoken of setting up a new political venture – the Patriotic Alliance – combining the direct democracy tactics of the Italian Five Star Movement (M5S) with the ugly xenophobia of his Leave.EU campaign. Donald Trump's senior advisor, Steve Bannon, is understood to be a key influence on these plans.

Before the snap general election was called, Banks and his sidekick, Leave.EU's comms director Andy Wigmore, were waging a calculated campaign to undermine UKIP in order to capitalise on its bleeding membership at the May local elections. The duo had Farage lined up for a leadership role.

Support for UKIP is down but concern about immigration remains very high. Farage remains hugely popular among the UKIP membership and he, Banks and Wigmore are now well placed to attract a sizable chunk of UKIP's support to their new venture. This would effectively scuttle UKIP and clear the ground for a new enterprise that will capitalise cynically on the inevitable compromise that will accompany Brexit.

As Farage wrote for the *Telegraph* on 27 June: "However difficult or unpleasant the establishment found it as I campaigned on immigration numbers in the years leading up to the referendum, unless something is done about this crisis, something very unpleasant will inevitably emerge".





# Arlene Foster takes tea with the UDA

**A little over a week before the DUP began negotiations over a possible deal to support a minority Conservative government, its leader Arlene Foster was enjoying a cup of tea with the leader of a Loyalist paramilitary group. By Nick Lowles and Matthew Collins**

**T**he failure of the Conservative Party to secure a parliamentary majority has led Prime Minister Theresa May to link up with the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) to form a government.

Yet as we can reveal, there are worrying links between the DUP and the Loyalist paramilitary group, the Ulster Defence Association (UDA).

There has been intense media speculation about the DUP's socially conservative policies (key members are opposed to gay marriage, abortion and have strongly sceptical views on climate change) but less is being said about links with Loyalist paramilitaries.

Scottish Tory leader Ruth Davidson has already tweeted her displeasure at the DUP's hostility to same-sex marriages.

Other media have pointed to DPP founder Ian Paisley's links to the shadowy paramilitary Ulster Resistance that was set up to oppose the 1986 Anglo-Irish Agreement.

But it is not the Ulster Resistance or even Paisley's earlier Third Force incarnation people should worry about. Rather, it is the DUP's links to the UDA that should really concern people.

Not only do these links continue to this day but, in allying itself with the DUP, the future UK government (which supposedly sits as a neutral arbiter) may jeopardise the very future of the Northern Irish peace process.

## 'Cup of tea'

On 31 May this year, a little over a week before polling day, DUP leader Arlene Foster met with UDA 'Brigadier' Jackie McDonald at a community office in the Taughmonagh area of south Belfast.

This was just days after the UDA's 'rebel' faction had carried out a murder of a man in Bangor in front of his three-year-old son.

Mrs Foster claimed that the meeting with Jackie McDonald was not pre-arranged and instead took place while she was in the area canvassing for votes. Challenged on why she had not used the opportunity to demand McDonald denounce violence and disarm the Loyalist group, she simply replied:

"I had no need to say it to Jackie McDonald. Jackie McDonald knows my views very, very clearly."

(When asked if the UDA should disband immediately, Mrs Foster told the BBC: "There should be no paramilitary organisations.")

In fact, very few people in Northern Ireland do not know about Jackie McDonald. Only a few months ago the *Sunday World* newspaper ran a major feature on the UDA leader and the criminal rackets he and his organisation run.

The exposé began: "in an unprecedented glimpse inside the UDA, terror group members reveal the fascist-like regime that forces them to hand over membership fees, dish out beatings of their own and force families from their homes....UDA veterans, shackled to an organised crime gang, tell of a paramilitary leadership that has no intention of going away ...and they reveal how foot soldiers are begging terror boss Jackie McDonald to let them walk away – without a beating."

The article went on to list a string of criminal activities carried out to this day by the UDA – all under Jackie McDonald's leadership.

## Jackie McDonald – paramilitary leader

During the Troubles, McDonald was sentenced to 10 years for extortion and blackmail but, on his release in 1994, he became a leading figure in the Loyalist ceasefire agreement.

McDonald now leads the 'mainstream' faction of the UDA. While he is seen as a 'progressive' voice within Loyalism, his faction of the UDA is still widely regarded as responsible for racketeering and violence across the province, and also linked to factional violence and murder.

This is the same Jackie McDonald that Arlene Foster had a cup of tea with just days before the election.

This incident is only the latest in a worrying list of links between the DUP and Loyalist paramilitaries.

With the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) and Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), the unionist and nationalist parties that first brought political stability to Northern Ireland, now both politically marginalised, it is perhaps no surprise that the Loyalist paramilitaries (UDA and UVF – Ulster Volunteer Force) have been keen to develop relationships with the DUP in the hope of political and economic patronage.

The links between the DUP and the UDA have increased dramatically since the infamous 'Flag Dispute' of 2012, when Loyalist anger at the non-display of the Union flag above Belfast Town Hall led to several nights of rioting. Some commentators have suggested that the DUP's efforts to reach out to the UDA was an attempt to rebuild links with the Loyalist community.

Community and sports associations run directly or indirectly by leading UDA figures have received huge amounts





of funding from the Northern Ireland Executive (the government), while the UDA has actively encouraged its supporters and the communities over which it has influence to back DUP candidates at elections.

### UDA meetings

Often in the full glare of the press, senior elected representatives of the DUP have met with known members of the UDA across Northern Ireland.

In 2013, DPP activist Bobby Harrison-Rice was forced to quit his role as vice-chair of his local policing partnership after the *Sunday World* revealed he had supported a call to have Sinn Féin MLA Gerry Kelly murdered.

It later emerged that Harrison-Rice had made various racist and homophobic comments on social media, including tweeting out after Lee Rigby was murdered: "Find the mosque where they prayed and do every f\*\*\*er in it".

In 2014, the DUP selected former UDA prisoner Sam 'Chalky' White as a candidate to stand in east Belfast.

Just a few days

before White was announced as the DUP candidate, the east Belfast UDA commander, Jimmy Birch, put out the call for supporters to back the DUP in the elections.

In Antrim, the party selected John Smyth, already a sitting councillor, who had a string of convictions for Loyalist-related terror offences which dated back to the 1970s.

It is little wonder that leading figures with the Ulster Unionist Party began to refer to the DUP as "Loyalist Sinn Féin".

Late last year, the-then Northern Ireland Assembly member Christopher Stalford opened his new office in a building owned by Belfast South Community Resources (BSCR). Attending the opening was Arlene Foster and the party's deputy leader Nigel Dodds.

Mr Stalford spoke glowingly of his new office, saying:

"I am proud that I recently opened my constituency office in Sandy Row."

But what Stalford failed to mention was that BSCR is managed by convicted Loyalist multiple killer Garnet Busby, and that ex-UDA

prisoner Trevor Greer is among its staff. According to one newspaper report, the South Belfast UDA continues to use the top floor of the building to hold 'kangaroo courts'.

Until recently, one of the officers of BSCR was Jackie McDonald, the UDA leader. BSCR recently received £7.5 million in public funding from Arlene Foster's administration.

A few weeks later, a day after the BBC referred to a community office on the Shankill Road as the "UDA Headquarters", Paul Givan the one-time Communities Minister in the Northern Ireland Assembly and now the MP for South Antrim, paid the building a visit.

For the *Irish Times*, Givan "was sending out a very clear message." "UDA veterans, shackled to an organised crime gang, tell of a paramilitary leadership that has no intention of going away."

### Belfast support

During the election campaign itself, the Loyalist Communities Council (made up of the UVF, UDA and the Red Hand Commandos) issued a statement calling for a block vote across Belfast for the DUP.

The Loyalists were particularly supportive of South Belfast DUP candidate Emma Little Pengelly, with the UDA-linked The Ulster Political Research Group magazine *The Loyalist* stating it "would strongly urge a vote for Emma Little Pengelly."





Self-declared North Down UDA commander and convicted armed robber, Dee Stitt (far left with beard)

On election night, the newly-elected MP publicly thanked the people of Taughmonagh – the area of the constituency that is considered to be McDonald's stronghold – in her victory speech.

Her father, Noel Little, was a known gunrunner for Ulster Resistance, a group which was set up by the DUP's founder, the Reverend Ian Paisley.

Her father was once photographed alongside a red-beretted Peter Robinson during an Ulster Resistance rally in 1986. Robinson took over the leadership of the DUP after Ian Paisley stepped down.

Two years later, Noel Little was arrested on suspicion of being involved in the distribution of a huge shipment of guns from South Africa in 1988 that found its way to the UDA and UVF.

While Little was released without charge, he was arrested again the following year after French security services raided a Paris hotel, where he was in the company of South African diplomat Daniel Storm and American arms dealer Douglas Bernhardt.

It later emerged in court that the Loyalists were trying to get guns from South Africa in exchange for information about advanced missile systems, after parts of a Blowpipe missile and a model of a Javelin missile went missing from a Short Brothers plant at Castlereagh.

The court heard that Little was the main instigator of the plot. Following two years on remand, he received a suspended sentence and fine.

### Strange company

Arlene Foster's cup of tea with the UDA boss was not the first time she has found herself in the company of a UDA commander.

Last October, Foster was photographed standing next to the self-declared North Down UDA commander and convicted armed robber, Dee Stitt.

Foster was there to celebrate the £1.7 million funding for Charter NI, a project to improve employment in east Belfast and for which Dee Stitt is chief executive.

The funding and on-going governmental support for Charter NI came despite Stitt publicly claiming that the British Government did not "give a f\*\*\* about Northern Ireland".

Stitt also described the Loyalist band, the North Down Defenders, as "our homeland security" and added "we are here to defend North Down from anybody."

"we are here to defend North Down from anybody."

It seems that Stitt is held in high



regard by the DUP leadership. Over the last few years, he has been a regular visitor to Stormont. In 2012, Assembly Member Alex Easton wrote a glowing reference in support of Stitt's application to join the influential Social Investment Fund's South Eastern Steering Group.

"I believe that David would be an outstanding member of the steering group if selected," Easton wrote, adding that Stitt commanded "widespread support across the community" and was "very good at community dialogue".

Easton later claimed that he was unaware that Stitt was a paramilitary gangster.

Quite why Foster was happy to be photographed with Dee Stitt is a mystery, particularly given that his UDA brigade is considered by police to be one of the most out-of-control paramilitary gangs in Northern Ireland.

One of the most disgraceful recent assaults carried out by Stitt's group was a hammer attack on a Bangor community worker who had tried to mobilise local people against the paramilitary gang. He was attacked with hammers in front of his wife and three children.

*The Sunday World* even alleged that the DUP was once considering Stitt as a potential local election candidate.

Despite Stitt's paramilitary record, Arlene Foster's government gave one of his charities £900,000 in 2016 for a local sports project.

Another leading UDA commander who has benefited from funding from the Northern Irish government during the time it was being run Arlene Foster was former UDA prisoner Adrian Bird. Despite being the Lisburn UDA

Brigadier, he received huge public funding for his work in the Old Warren Estate with regards to battling racism and educating Loyalists about the need for integration.

The Lisburn UDA commander has also been photographed with Arlene Foster.

### In public

Publicly, the DUP is strongly opposed to the UDA and recently put out a statement claiming that: "There is no place for the UDA, or any other paramilitary group in our society."

The DUP went on: "Their existence never was justified and is not justified now. We will work with those who wish to leave their past behind, but anyone involved in any kind of illegal activity must face the full weight of the law."

The evidence linking the DUP – and more specifically Arlene Foster – to several current UDA commanders seems to suggest otherwise.

It is ironic that in a General Election dominated by claims of links between the Labour Party leadership and Sinn Féin and the IRA, the Conservative Party are attempting to negotiate an agreement with a political party that itself has disturbing links with a paramilitary organisation.

We totally understand the need to involve former paramilitaries in the peace process, but surely it cannot be right to give away millions of pounds of public money to people and organisations still involved in paramilitary and criminal activity.

We also wonder what due diligence was done by Theresa May before asking the DUP to support her potential new administration.



# Right-wing extremists win eight seats in French parliament

Jean-Yves Camus *reports*

ONLY 42.64% of the French electorate went to the polls in the second round of the legislative elections on 18 June, the lowest turnout since the Fifth Republic came into being in 1958.

Amid growing disenchantment with politics and the mainstream parties, President Macron's new centrist party, *La République en Marche*, won an absolute majority of 306 seats (43%). The Conservatives (*Les Républicains*), secured 113 seats (22,23%), the left-wing *France insoumise* took 17 seats and might reach an agreement with the Communists who got 10 seats. The formerly powerful Socialist Party will have only 29 MPs and has sunk to an all-time with a dismal 5.68%.

On the evening of 23 April, when the outcome of the first round of the Presidential election was clear, Marine Le Pen and her Front National (FN) rejoiced. With 21.3% (7.7 million votes) she has qualified for the second ballot against Macron, while the two mainstream parties had totally failed. On 7 May, Le Pen was still boasting that she had got 33.9% and 10.6 million votes, her party's best result since its inception in 1972.

However, that was very far from her expectations of reaching at least the 40% mark and even having a slim possibility of winning. A disastrous TV debate with Macron had put her

credibility at risk and voices were quickly heard, within the party, that claimed she simply was not fit to be Head of State, both because she did could not master economics and because she had scared many a Conservative voter with her "neither Left nor Right" agenda and her stand on immediate *Frexit*.

The figures of the legislative election confirm that there is a credibility problem, but the FN nonetheless did not fail completely, according to Le Pen.

Her first explanation is that the French electoral system, which does not allow proportional representation in general elections, traditionally harms anti-system and small parties. That is true, especially since 2002, when it was decided that general elections would take place one month after the Presidential one, with the intent of giving the new Cabinet a stable and large majority in parliament.

Foreseeing, that FN would not win so many races and that Macron was set to make a big win, 45% of Le Pen voters stayed home in June, mostly those aged under 35, working-class people and the unemployed.

Le Pen's other reason to be (quite) happy is that with 8 MPs instead of two as in the previous legislature, FN made gains. Le Pen herself was elected in the working-class district of Pas de Calais with an

impressive 65% and, what is even better, 4 other MPs who are close to her grabbed a seat in this same former Socialist-Communist stronghold.

A nice surprise for FN was that Le Pen's partner, Louis Aliot, won a seat in the constituency of Perpignan. Those positive aspects are to be compared to the failure of the party's number two man, Florian Philippot, who was defeated as were all those party officials who follow his "neo-Gaullist", anti-EU, anti-liberal policies. Philippot is said to be contemplating leaving the party if he loses Le Pen's support.

There is also another wing in the opposition to the "Neither Left nor Right", anti-EU, official policy of Le Pen and Philippot. It is that of those who want the party to reaffirm its belonging to the Right and, eventually, to ally with the most conservative wing of the *Républicains*.

Marion Maréchal-Le Pen was their leader until she decided to take a break from politics and not seek another term as an MP.

Maréchal did not retire, though. She knows that the hyper-centralized management of FN, the cult of the leader and the lack of democracy within the party make it very difficult for her to challenge her aunt's leadership when the next party convention takes place, in January or February 2018.

She does not want to go

into a fight and be defeated in a convention vote. So her plan is to come back only when the situation is ripe for some kind of an uprising from the rank-and-file members who were promised a significant breakthrough or even victory, and now see that the FN is not that much stronger than it was 20 years ago.

On the first round of the legislative election, FN polled 2,990,454 votes (13.2%). In the 1997 election, at a time when Jean-Marie Le Pen ran the party on a hard-line extreme right-wing platform, the comparable figure was 3,785,383 votes (14.94%). In 2012, when Marine Le Pen was already the leader, FN got 3,528,663 votes or 13.6%.

That means stagnation at best. The only way to change that would be a split within the mainstream *Républicains* and the end of the anti-FN *cordon sanitaire*.

It is quite unlikely this will happen soon, and the reason is that all those mainstream Conservative MPs who were intellectually ready to reach an agreement with the FN (Henri Guaino, Jacques Myard, Nicolas Dhuicq...) have been defeated and the FN can only get the support of ex-member Jacques Bompard from *Ligue du Sud* (a Conservative-Identitarian group) who was reelected in Provence and, possibly, from Nicolas Dupont-Aignan, the paleo-Gaullist anti-EU leader of *Debout la France*. ●



# ANTI-GYPSYISM

## the unacceptable face of racist policing in Europe

**Bernard Rorke analyses the situation**

A SLEW of recent cases of police brutality across Europe provides further evidence of a long-standing, simmering crisis that remains largely ignored.

This selection from the cases that have come to the attention of the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) since March this year alone, indicates that racist policing against Roma people continues unabated.

What is especially troubling is that leading politicians often actively condone and even applaud such police excesses.

"They beat me, my 14-year-old son, and my father-in-law too ... and then they handcuffed him, so I began to shout that they should let him go. The police officer said I should pay 20 Euro and that if I didn't, they would take him to the police station in Bardejov and beat him so he would be blacker than he is now," eyewitness Veronika Kováčová described what happened when Slovak police attacked the Romani neighbourhood of Zborov on 16 April.

Following the release by the ERRC of a video on 24 May that shows the Slovak police indiscriminately beating men, women and children, Police President, Tibor Gašpar, commented that "several of these interventions seem quite inappropriate".

A day later, he flipped and claimed the officers had no choice but to act as they did and had only used their batons to threaten people, not actually to strike them.

This is not the first time video evidence of police brutality in Slovakia has been dismissed out of hand. On 20 May, police

officers were acquitted for a second time by the Kosice District Court on charges of abusing six Romani boys between the ages of 11 and 15 back in 2008.

The officers were filmed shouting and swearing at the boys, forcing them to undress and beat one another, and setting dogs on them in a case the media dubbed "Slovakia's Abu Ghraib".

The judge again refused to allow the video recording as evidence and the police were acquitted because the case against them was unproven.

The killing of French traveller Angelo Garand by police on 30 March attracted none of the international media coverage and mass outrage that followed the police shooting of 56-year-old Chinese father-of-five Liu Shaoyo, in Paris just four days earlier or the brutal truncheon anal rape by police of the 22-year-old black man known as Theo in February.

Garand was shot dead by police when they raided the traveller's family home after he had failed to return from temporary release from prison in Vivonne where he was serving a two-year sentence for burglary.

The state prosecutor asserted that the GIGN's (*Groupe d'intervention de la Gendarmerie nationale*) lethal response was justified, because Garand posed a danger to the police and resisted arrest.

Garand's sisters repudiated this assertion and stated that

"Angelo would never have thrown himself on three members of the GIGN. He may not have been an angel, but he was not suicidal."

And, in Bulgaria, outside the village of



Bohot in Pleven province, on 13 April, a Romani father and son were surrounded, forced to lie down and were badly beaten with batons and kicked by a group of local police officers. The son survived this brutal assault, sustaining serious injuries that included a broken arm, broken ribs and bruising and contusions all over his body.

The father, who had a heart condition and a pacemaker fitted, was not so fortunate and died at the scene of this ferocious assault. The authorities





(above) Police Attack Roma Community in Slovakia: Children and Elderly Injured

(left) French traveller Angelo Garand killed by police on 30 March 2017



justified the police action by claiming that the men were found in possession of stolen pesticides and had resisted arrest.

As if to add insult to injury, the Bulgarian government then put deputy prime minister Valeri Simeonov of the United Patriots in charge of Bulgaria's demographic policy and at the head of the country's federal council of integration.

Simeonov has made his views on Roma clear in parliament: "They are brazen, feral, human-like creatures that demand

pay without work and collect sickness benefits without being sick. They receive child benefits for children that play with pigs on the street and for women that have the instincts of stray dogs."

On 29 May, 373 Bulgarian human rights activists and intellectuals published an open letter of protest condemning the decision to appoint a "pronounced supporter of fascist and neo-Nazi ideology" to be in charge of minorities and integration.

Such actions strengthen anti-

gypsyism, actively encourage aggressive racist policing and deepen the sense of impunity among police officers.

Similarly, Slovak prime minister Robert Fico's attack on "political correctness" and his declaration, in December 2016, that the government will "put things in order" in Roma settlements sent a clear message to rank and file police.

Promising an increased deployment of police, Fico said he was ready for conflict with the Ombudsman over the issue, and declared "Enough with tolerance."

This deplorable rhetoric casts a shadow over the EU Framework for Roma integration launched in 2011. The cases cited here are just a sample of a wider pattern of brutality and harassment.

As the European Commission begins its half-time assessment of the Framework, the issues of police violence and police racism seem to be way down the list.

Urgent steps are needed to provide Roma with access to justice and to hold police forces accountable for their actions. Europe needs to prove beyond all doubt, that Roma lives actually matter.

As one Romani activist told me: "With or without the EU Roma Framework, access to justice should be a priority, a fundamental right in every democratic society. Having access to justice within an acceptably prompt and timely framework where the victims can feel that something happened to remedy what is wrong and unjust, to make it right – this is the justice we need – but it's the justice we don't have." ●



# Polish far right targets UK Poles

From *Rafal Pankowski* in Warsaw

THE POLISH far right is increasingly active in the UK and Polish far right events in the UK are often much bigger than British far right meetings. The Polish community in the UK has been subjected to discrimination and a wave of post-Brexit hate crime and, in turn, many young Poles are being radicalised by the Polish far right groups.

A Polish far right leader active among the Polish community in the UK is Janusz Korwin-Mikke MEP who became notorious internationally for claiming in a European Parliament speech that women were less intelligent than men and deserved smaller salaries. Korwin-Mikke was subsequently interviewed on ITV's Good Morning Britain (on 8 March, International Women's Day) by Piers Morgan who called the Polish MEP "a pig" and "the most sexist man in politics". The misogynist remark was not, however, the only offensive statement ever made by Korwin-Mikke.

He likes to talk about "Jewish communism", claims Hitler didn't know about the Holocaust and calls for disabled children to be kept away from "normal" schools. He has been censured for "Sieg heiling" and using the "N" word in the European Parliament, too.

Alarming, Korwin-Mikke got 20 per cent of the vote as a Polish presidential candidate among the Polish community in the UK who voted in the Polish election in 2015.

When visiting Britain he speaks to packed houses. An almost 3-hour long recording of one of the meetings can be watched online. It took place in London in October 2015. In a room

full of Polish migrants, Korwin-Mikke thundered against the European Union and Muslim immigration.

He also said: "If I were Jewish I would have made a much better career in government circles" and his speech was punctuated with applause.

In April 2017, Korwin-Mikke visited the UK again and the University of East London cancelled his meeting on 27 April, an event planned by the Young British Heritage Society. It was stopped thanks to information provided by the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, the Polish anti-racist group that has monitored the far right since the mid-1990s.

Korwin-Mikke's other meetings in the UK went ahead, organised by the UK branch of his political party called "Freedom". The "Freedom" party is allied with UKIP and it maintains a high level of activity in the UK. It is one of several Polish far right groups targeting the Polish community in Britain that is close to 1 million people.

Extremist activity among Poles in Britain was raised during a discussion hosted by the Demos think-tank and the Ebert Foundation in London on 23 May this year.

The time is ripe for addressing the current surge of far right activity among the younger generation of UK Poles and the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association is eager to meet the challenge together with its British sister group, HOPE not hate.



Janusz Korwin-Mikke MEP, Polish far right leader active among the Polish community in the UK



## SPAIN

# Spain denounced at UN for not exhuming victims of fascism

**Sandra Cortés reports for Antifeixistes.org**

THE FAMILY of the Lapeña brothers, anti-fascists shot in 1936 by General Franco's fascists, has reported Spain to the UN for failing to comply with a decision that recognized their right to exhume the brothers' bodies and give them a dignified burial.

The bodies of Manuel and Antonio Lapeña were transferred to the Valley of the Fallen along with the bodies of thousands of other victims of Franco, without family authorisation. For years, families have claimed their right to recover the bodies so they are not buried in the fascist mausoleum built by Franco between 1940 and 1958 and where the bodies of dictator Franco and Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, leader of the Falange, are also buried.

In addition, thousands of families still await judicial authorisation to identify their deceased who are still buried in mass graves. Spain is only the second country in the world, after Cambodia, with so many dead or missing, estimated at about 115,000.

No post-Franco government has even considered the elimination of the hideous fascist shrine or the exhumation of the victims still awaiting a dignified burial. Despite the Law of Historical Memory approved by the Social Democratic government in 2007, fascist monuments remain intact throughout Spain, and the victims of fascism continue to lie in mass graves.



## Griffin banned from fascist conference

**From Sandra Cortés in Madrid for Antifeixistes.org**

THE FASCIST Cultural Association In Memoriam Juan Ignacio (ACIMJI) has cancelled the participation of ex-BNP führer Nick Griffin in an event, scheduled for 17 June, in Zaragoza after discovering a BNP pamphlet featuring the faces of Griffin and Winston Churchill.

Juan Antonio López Larrea, a representative of ACIMJI on his Facebook account stated: "Anyone who shows himself with a genocide like Winston Churchill, can not be received by our militant community" and declared Griffin *persona non-grata*.

ACIMJI is composed of former members of the fascist terrorist group Frente de la Juventud that operated in Spain between 1978 and 1982 and carried out various attacks, assaults and robberies. Juan Ignacio González, its leader, was assassinated by persons unknown in Madrid in 1980.

Currently, former members of the Frente de la Juventud have reorganised themselves into this fake "cultural" association for conferences and an annual demonstration in Madrid in memory of their leader. In 2016, the association organised a conference in València attended by Edda Negri Mussolini, granddaughter of the Italian dictator. The gathering was answered with a huge anti-fascist demonstration and an institutional statement, signed by all political parties in the Valencian Cortes, reaffirming the anti-fascist character of the city.

## LATVIA

## Local elections

**Aleksandr Kuzmin in Riga**



LOCAL ELECTIONS took place in Latvia on 3 June amid a scandal caused by MP Edvins Snore from the co-ruling party, the far right National Alliance (NA). Not a candidate himself, he published an article titled "Aim: a Latvian Latvia" in his party's election newspaper. The most shocking statement in it was a quotation, with approval, from a minister of Latvia's 1934-1940 authoritarian regime: "As Alfreds Berzins, a minister of public affairs, said, 'if you let Russian lice to your coat once, it will be difficult to get it out.'"

Several human rights activists and NGOs have asked the prosecutor-general to charge Snore. Interestingly, the other ruling parties of the centre-right are not only ready to co-operate with NA but, in advance of the elections, they announced their refusal to co-operate with the parties currently ruling in the capital city of Riga. These are the social-democratic Concord Party (CP) and the Christian Democratic "Honoured to Serve Riga" (HSR), both mostly relying on the ethnic minority vote (in Riga, most residents are native Russian-speakers, although many of the latter are stateless and thus voteless).

In the elections, the CP/HSR kept a majority of 32 of 60 councillors. Notably, while they have councillors with both Latvian-sounding and Slavic-sounding names, the right-wing parties have no councillors with Slavic-sounding names in Riga.



# Griffin and Dowson told: 'Pa

**Matthew Collins explains**

WRY SMILES and surprise greeted the news that both Nick Griffin the former leader of the BNP and ex-MEP and his one-time *consigliere* Jim Dowson had been asked to leave Hungary and not return.

It was an unexpected move by the Hungarian government, on advice from the Hungarian counter-terrorism police unit that advises the Ministry of Interior, to ban Griffin and Dowson from re-entering Hungary.

In a short message sent to Associated Press, Hungary's Interior Ministry announced: "The British national John Nicholas Griffin is a *persona non grata* in Hungary who has been... issued with entry and residency bans."

Overwhelming opinion among observers had been that Griffin and Dowson, who led the expeditionary, adventure to Hungary four years ago, had both found their political, cultural and social home in Hungary.

Hungary is fast developing a reputation as a country determined to flout international opinion and law in its treatment of refugees and asylum seekers. Despite belonging to both NATO and the European Union, Hungary's prime minister Viktor Orbán has become an increasingly hostile critic of the west and the EU and liberalism in particular.

It was in such a politically fraught atmosphere that both men – who had fallen out previously when their endeavours with the British National Party (BNP) led to (among other things) kidnappings, bankruptcy and

court-cases – reconsummated their old business relationship in a grand apartment leased by a church to Dowson's increasingly ridiculous "Knights Templar International" (KTI) group. The two had already kissed and made up in St Petersburg, Russia, late in 2015 and Griffin made the decision almost immediately after to follow Dowson to Hungary.

The Interior Ministry announcement about Griffin came 24 hours after it was leaked that Dowson had been told to leave the country a fortnight before.

Such are the fluctuating fortunes of Griffin's post-European parliamentary career since being voted out in 2014 that he has become a political oddity with a penchant for travel. It was Dowson, who secured both financial and political backing in Hungary through his anti-abortion and "humanitarian" endeavours, however, who was seen as the "big fish" by the government.

Although both men solemnly promised that they would be model citizens while living in Hungary, they quickly raised eyebrows with their deeds. As well as flirting with racist militias in neighbouring countries, both men used Hungary and Dowson's offices in Budapest to build a base and an empire they hoped would destabilise western governments and help drive Hungary further into isolation.

Dowson, in particular, was not without success. From within his old church building in central Budapest, his internet and alleged (but





# ack your armour and leave'

Jim Dowson's front door



not proven) "fake news" operation, set off alarms as far away as Washington where it was believed he played at least some part in the massive smear campaigns against US Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton in the 2016 election.

Although Dowson did not deny that he might have played some part in the campaign against Clinton, he flatly denied he was involved in producing or disseminating "fake news". He also announced that he would use the same tactics to interfere with any future Independence Referendum held in his native Scotland, with the sole purpose of causing political destabilisation in the United Kingdom.

By the time Dowson was expelled from Hungary, his internet and "Templar" commitments stretched right across central and Eastern Europe. His grand offices had become known as the "hub" where right-wing visitors from across the world would roll up to see for themselves how they could retire from the failure of fighting at home and take retirement in a low wage economy and, relative to Western prices, affordable and relatively luxurious living.

So tempting did Dowson and Griffin make Hungary appear to other displaced fascists, that even sections of the so-called "Alt-right" moved to Budapest where they rubbed up against the old guard led by Griffin and a smattering of French, German and Italian former fascist grandees in defeat.

The movement of a small and, mainly, formerly influential group of fascists

to Hungary was of seemingly little interest to Viktor Orbán but 2017 has been an aggravatingly disturbing year for him and his party Fidesz.

Anger and embarrassment about the country's treatment of refugees, a large and monstrous wall built to shut out people seeking asylum and a government attempt to close Budapest's world famous Central European University made it clear to many younger Hungarians that Orbán was fighting some kind of personal vendetta against Hungarian entrepreneur, George Soros, who had personally financed many liberal and non-government institutions in Hungary.

Tens of thousands of people took to the streets to back Soros with such enthusiasm, that even the (more) far right opposition party Jobbik backed the protests.

While the presence of Griffin, Dowson and Co. was most likely a very minor irritant to Orbán himself, the activities of Dowson and Griffin will have made for uncomfortable viewing for TEK, the counter-terrorist task force, that assesses the risk posed to Hungary by both foreign and domestic elements in the country.

Most likely unconnected to Griffin and Dowson or KTI, a police officer was seriously injured last year when a man detonated a bomb near Dowson's headquarters.

The explosion happened days before Hungary was due to hold referendum on the EU's plans to force member states to accept migrant quotas.

Further to that, as well as a

hare-brained scheme to bring South African Boer farmers to the country to work on farms linked to political backers the pair had there, they both engaged with domestic far right elements linked to groups like the terrorist Hungarians' Arrows and the 64 Counties Youth Movement – who Dowson paraded at an anti-Soros conference he had funded in March – along with the ultra-rightist Identitesz group. Shortly after the conference, the 64 Counties Youth Movement carried out an attack on a building linked (incorrectly) to Soros by Griffin at the conference.

What now for Griffin and Dowson remains a mystery. Griffin has said he will contest the decision but continues to travel to countries like Serbia unmolested. Despite having money and business interests heavily invested in Hungary, the inscrutable Dowson has said little concretely about his plans. For the pair of them, Hungary was an idyllic bolthole, well away from the dreaded spread of multiculturalism, liberalism and western influence.

The hesitation both showed in actually buying property, however, would now appear to be their downfall. They committed no (known) crimes but dithered about buying their retirement pads.

The security services are likely to have acted anyway as Griffin was about to buy a smallholding near to the Serbian border almost guaranteeing him residency.

Fascists, the Hungarians know all too well, however, eventually end up devouring their own. ●



# How nihilist youths turn in

The attacks in the UK and the rest of Europe have pushed questions about Islam, Muslim integration and radicalism to the forefront of politics. Olivier Roy, a French political scientist, terrorism expert and professor at the European University Institute in Florence, has researched the profiles of these radicalised youth for years.

**Safya Khan-Ruf** interviewed him about his new book, *Jihad and Death*, and his suggestion that young extremists are not inspired by Islam but rather are radical nihilists who buy into the Islamic State argument.

## How long have you been researching this topic?

It's a long story! I was in Afghanistan in the 1980s and I wrote my first academic book on Islamism in Afghanistan. There, I met the first foreign jihadists and I saw the birth of Al-Qaida. From then on, I followed the global trajectories of radical Islamists.

I also live in Dreux, a French city where nearly 30% of the population is of immigrant origin. So I've always worked on the integration of second generation immigrants.

The two subjects collided with the phenomenon of radicalised second generation youth.

## What sort of profile [his list] did you create for these radicalised youths that perpetrate attacks?

I took all the names known to have participated in a French terrorist network between 1995 and 2017. To that list I added around 20 known jihadis, those known to have given orders but who didn't participate directly in terrorist action. There are actually more than 100 names on the list now – every three months, there are new names. Now I have around 150 people.

## What did you find...?

Roughly 65% of these are second-generation immigrants and 25% are converts. Then there are a few atypical cases. Surprisingly, the percentage of second-generation immigrants

remained stable over the 20 years. Even though you might expect an increase in third generation immigrants on the list – it doesn't happen.

Then there are other elements – 50% of the people on the list were delinquents in the past and nearly none of them had been religious, or had been a member of a mosque, or an Islamic organisation, or had even done any proselytism. There was also a surprising number of brothers on the list.

## Your book, *Jihad and Death* mentions a self-destructive dimension to these youth?

Yes, this is a very important element – nearly all of them blew themselves up except for those arrested before they could commit the attack.

Since 1995, terrorists have been either blowing themselves up like in the 2015 Bataclan attack in France or committing suicide so there was no plan B, none of them prepared an exit plan and that is completely new.

If you take the attacks linked to the Middle East between 1970 and 1980, the attackers placed bombs and then they left. Or they assassinated someone but arranged for an escape.

To blow yourself up is not indispensable to the success of the attack. In Manchester last month for example, the attacker Salam Abedi had the explosive in his bag. He could have left the bag under a seat and left. Same with the London attacks in 2005, they

could have left their bags in the bus and left.

All or nearly all, had death at the centre of their plan.

## Does Salman Abedi, the Manchester attacker, fit your profile?

The only missing element is the generational connection – what his relation with his father was and whether the latter knew about his plans. I think not, but it is not clear yet.

But all the rest fits the profile. He wasn't very pious at 15, he was radicalised but wasn't part of a Salafi mosque – the imam even considered him radical. He hadn't studied the religion much and may have been a delinquent in the past. Also, his brother may have been aware of the attack so the fraternal element is there. Then there is the suicide dimension and his target wasn't strategic. He didn't target the military or bankers – he targeted the youth. So all these fit with my profile.

## How do you think we can prevent youth from becoming radicalised?

Despite what many people say, these youth are not the products of unemployment, of racism, or a lack of integration. It's just not true. For Abedi for example, Libyans are pretty well integrated and while he had a chaotic past, it wasn't because of his family life.

And then people are 'stuck'. My thesis is that these are

youth in revolt: nihilists that are suicidal and will ascribe their revolt into the narrative provided by IS. For those that have a Muslim background, it's easy to adopt the narrative because the keys are already there.

But we also see hundreds of converts that adopt this. IS placed a very sophisticated narrative in play that combines references from Islam at the time of the Prophet with a modern type of extreme individualism – the image of the solitary hero – and a modern aesthetic of violence and death. That is what is working.

So we first need to attack the narrative of IS and the fascination it causes.

In these youths there is a demand for spirituality and mysticism. We've known since the anarchists and Dostoyevsky that there is a spiritual dimension to terrorists. The problem is, we fight this demand of spirituality by secularising and using our rational thought. I think our society has a problem with the religious – it doesn't understand the religious anymore.

So in France, we fight religion in the public space. The more there is terrorism, the more we remove all religious signs. Or in the UK, we look for 'good' theologians or 'liberal' and 'enlightened' imams that we will talk reason with and who will put the Qu'ran in context. But that's not what these youth want.



# to Islamic State terrorists



## Jihad and Death The Global Appeal of Islamic State

OLIVIER ROY

We respond to hard religion by soft religion. But these youth want hard, they don't want soft. There is a demand for irrationality. Christianity had answered this demand with monasteries. Those are not moderately religious.

To combat IS, we need to allow religion to express itself instead of demanding it to self-secularise.

### But you are allowed to express your religion in the UK.

But we demand it expresses itself in a way that is rational. In all our Western countries we push religions to, for example, accept gay marriage. I say this is stupid. Gay marriage should be recognised as a civil marriage, of course, but we don't have to demand of religions to accept homosexuality. Why is the secular society asking the religious to change their parameters?

Yes we must live together, but we do this by asking

the religious to secularise themselves. We don't accept religious radicalism, but that exists whether we like it or not. We can demand that religious radicalism respect the laws of the country. That is evident. But we shouldn't demand of the religious to reform their beliefs to be compatible with secularism.

This would destroy the religious legitimacy of IS.

### And prevent other attacks?

We will never be able to stop a youth from blowing themselves up. There are attacks like the Columbine high school massacre in the US that we will never be able to stop. But we can reduce the number and the social and political impact.

An attack done when shouting Allah Akbar has a lot more impact than an attack without the words, even if there is the same number of deaths. Every time we hear there is an explosion, we ask

immediately if it is Islamism and if it's not, we forget about it three days later.

Every week you have a mass shooting in the US – every week you have a person who kills at least four people. But this doesn't reach front page news unless it was an Islamist or a white supremacist attacking. If it doesn't fall in these two categories, it doesn't exist.

I'm being a bit cynical, but if a bus filled with children is driven off a cliff, it's a tragedy of course. But if the driver had shouted Allah Akbar, it has a greater impact and becomes a danger to all of western society.

Take the German wings pilot who crashed his plane four years ago in France. There were 130 deaths, and the first question was whether


he was Muslim. When we realised he was not Muslim but suffering depression and paranoia, it was an accident.

It's important not only to reduce the number of deaths, but also the impact of the attacks. So we need to delegitimise the religious dimension of these attacks.

IS is in the business of making theatre. It knows very well what to do so that we talk about it – like killing children. So the impact of IS is linked to how we feel and react to attacks. It lives off our fears. ●

■ Olivier Roy's book *Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of the Islamic State* is available at Amazon. <https://www.amazon.co.uk/d/Books/Jihad-Death-Global-Appeal-Islamic/1849046980>.





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